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Warsaw Pact Prepares for CSCE Conference

LD0702113690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1059 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Representatives of the Warsaw Pact states exchanged views today in Berlin on their countries preparations for the Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe, which will take place from 19 March to 11 April within the framework of the CSCE in Bonn. ADN learned from the GDR Foreign Ministry Press Department that there was agreement that, in the currently changing conditions in Europe, the conference should contribute to supporting the economic reform processes in the East European countries.

Deputy GDR Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch said that this conference should soberly take stock of East-West cooperation to date and elaborate on recommendations to intensify and diversify economic cooperation at various levels, including in matters of currency and finance. The goal is to help create a pan-European economic sphere. Significant initiatives can emerge from the CSCE economic conference, since, in addition to state representatives, representatives of the business world should also be taking part.

E. European Foreign Ministries Meet 6 Feb

AU0602195290 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—Today there was a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Ministries of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia. Bulgaria was represented by Mr Stefan Staykov, first deputy foreign affairs minister.

The participants in the meeting discussed the role of the non-aligned countries for the solution of topical global issues and regional problems and expressed readiness to interact with them in this sphere, including in the UN frameworks.

The leaders of the delegations were received by Bulgarian Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov.

East Europe Leaders Debate Issues at Davos Forum

AU0502104090 Paris AFP in English 0800 GMT 5 Jan 90

[By Yvan Chemla]

[Text] Davos, Switzerland, Feb 5 (AFP)—East European officials have held an unprecedented public debate here on German reunification, security in Europe, trade, relations with the Soviet Union and the virtues of a market economy.

The World Economic Forum, which began Thursday and is due to end Wednesday, is being attended by top government figures from 50 states and 700 businessmen.

Sunday evening, East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow somewhat tempered proposals he made last Thursday for a neutral reunified Germany, saying that he had merely opened the door to dialogue on this issue.

He said priority should go to gradually drawing East and West Germany closer together, for instance in the fields of currency, transport and communications, and towards a confederal state with a single government in Berlin.

Neutrality would be one point in the dialogue, he said, and to justify it Mr. Modrow said it would be necessary to give guarantees to the two Germanies' neighbors and to take their interests into consideration.

He added that in any case, the concept of military neutrality could become pointless as the world disarms and as alliances take on a strictly political nature. The word "neutrality" would then change meaning, he noted.

The neutrality aspect has been rejected by Western and NATO leaders.

Polish President General Wojciech Jaruzelski said there was an essential condition to German reunification—a contribution to peace and security in Europe, to inviolability of borders, and to European integration.

He said that in that case, reunification would be "the result of a natural process". He gave a similar explanation as to why the Polish Government has not requested the departure of Soviet troops from Poland.

Such requests have been made by Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

He said there is a balance in Europe that has brought 45 years of peace, but that balance is changing as the world moves toward lower armament levels. Once full security guarantees are given, the issue of the Red Army's presence in Poland will no longer be posed in the same way, he said.

Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa commented that the Soviet Union, which took only one night to invade Czechoslovakia, found that a year for getting out was too short.

Mr. Calfa also favoured scrapping the East-West blocs, which necessarily create divisions in "the common European home". He said the notion of neutrality is a reaction to the existence of such blocs.

Generally, the East European officials spoke in favor of maintaining their economic grouping, COMECON, but said it needed thorough reform. Bulgaria's new Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov suggested three basic modifications.

An integrated market approach should replace the integrated administrative system, he said, and in a way which serves the real interests of each party effectively.

Without saying so openly, he rejected any idea of continuing the kind of cooperation imposed in the past by the Soviet Union.

He also said COMECON should be opened up to the world, and in particular to the process West European unity.

Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy insisted on the virtues of regional integration, mentioning a regional trade agreement signed by Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia and Hungary, which Czechoslovakia might join.

Gen. Jaruzelski said that Poland has some essential advantages in trying to restore its economy, but has four kinds of needs. One is continued assistance from governments and international financial agencies and another is conditions for fast economic growth. This would need a deep cut in the Polish foreign debt, whose servicing eats up funds that could be used to help the economy.

The other two needs were access to technical developments and wider and more effective participation in European economic organizations. He particularly mentioned an association with the European Economic Community (EEC). "We will get our chance in the integration and the unity of Europe", he said.

Leka I Discusses Plans for Future Government

AU0602213490 Vienna Television Service in German 2007 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Interview with King Leka I by Friedrich Orter in Paris; date not given—recorded; in English with superimposed German translation]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Leka] I am king of all the Albanians, and also of the Communists, whether they like it or not. The less blood shed in the process, the better. Therefore, I want to work toward this slowly. It would be rather easy to overthrow the government now; but when the current regime is toppled, it has to be done with the minimum amount of bloodshed.

[Orter] Who tells you that there has been unrest?

[Leka] My contacts.

[Orter] The Albanian leadership claims that you want to reintroduce capitalism. However, capitalism does not seem to offer any future for the Albanian people.

[Leka] I hope that, if I have a say in the future Albanian government, we will reintroduce the system of free entrepreneurship and the collectivized soil, which ruined the country, will be given back to the Albanian people.

[Orter] You said that you believe a Greater Albania could be the future of the Albanians. Does this not mean a destabilization of the Balkans?

[Leka] On the contrary. As long as a nation with its ethnic characteristics is not recognized as such, it remains a factor of destabilization. However, I believe that if we Albanians were to be reunited ethnically, we could have excellent relations with the Croatians, Slovenians, Serbians, and all other neighbors.

Decision of Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum

AU0402142190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Report on the conclusion of the Ninth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Plenum on "The Deepening of Measures for the Revolutionization of the Life of the Party and the Entire Country" issued in Tirana on 23 January]

[Text] The Ninth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee Plenum held its proceedings on 22-23 January 1990. On the basis of the speech delivered by Comrade Ramiz Alia, the plenum examined the problems arising from the implementation of the decisions of the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum and set out the tasks for the further revolutionization of the life of the party and of the entire country through the deepening of socialist democracy, the elevation of the role of the working masses and the perfecting of economic relations.

A this plenum, the AWP Central Committee carried out a profound analysis of current events in the countries of East Europe, determining at the same time the stands to be adopted toward these events.

The AWP Central Committee came to the conclusion:

1. The political changes that have occurred in East Europe, in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, in the German Democratic Republic, in Bulgaria, and in Romania brought right-wing forces to power. The bourgeoisie and international reaction are seeking to destroy in those countries everything that may remind one of socialism. The bourgeois propaganda has defined the socialist ideal as an anachronism. Reaction portrays communism as a threatening specter not for the bourgeoisie, but for the people. The counterrevolutionary process in the countries of the East was achieved through the stimulation and intervention of Western reaction and of the Soviet Union, but was also supported by the mass of the working people, who were disillusioned by the revisionist rule, its bureaucracy and violence, and by economic stagnation.

The fact is that these phenomena were considered by the peoples of those countries to be a product of the socialist system, of Marxism-Leninism. In its titanic struggle against revisionism, our party rightly concentrated its efforts on exposing the socialist masks and the Marxist speculations of revisionism. The Albanian Communists understood and struggled with all their might, with all their means, and with all their forces to ensure that people would understand the danger of compromising socialism and its revolutionary ideology and policy. Nevertheless, the tragedy did take place. We are experiencing this tragedy with sorrow, but certainly without despair. Comrade Enver stressed that bureaucracy and liberalism were among the major causes of the birth and development of revisionism. Now that 3 decades have elapsed since revisionism began to spread, an analysis of this phenomenon would enable us to correctly determine those instruments of the socialist system which should have played a greater role in its consolidation, but which were neglected.

The fact that bureaucracy was growing in the Soviet Union and that it represented a great danger was understood by people there. However, bureaucracy there was not dealt with through its opposite—that is by increasing the role of the masses and strengthening socialist democracy—but through the consolidation and perfecting of the administration, by setting norms for everything connected with the activity of the party, the state, and social relations, and through the consolidation of vertical centralism. Liberalism, too, was opposed by the Soviets with essentially administrative methods: They used dogma instead of the confrontation of ideas and arguments, general principles instead of finding solutions to the problems. This resulted in groups of people, particularly from within the ranks of the intellectuals, cooling down toward socialism. This is where the bourgeoisie

was able to find the dissidents; this is where the revisionist cliques found their social basis.

2. The international bourgeoisie, including the Soviet leadership, want to see the same counterrevolutionary processes that have taken place in Eastern Europe take place in Albania. A great deal of pressure has been and is being used for this purpose. Regardless that they are disguised with slogans about democracy, human rights, and so forth, the aim is to overthrow the people's authority and to liquidate the country's independence and freedom and our socialist victories. The AWP Central Committee plenum stressed that the freedom and independence won with blood and socialism will be resolutely defended by the Albanian people as their dearest possession.

Our people have chosen the road of their development themselves and will not allow anyone to interfere in their domestic affairs. They and nobody else know what needs to be done to ensure that the process of socialist construction may always progress. The Albanian people are masters in their own country. They and only they are sovereign over their destiny.

3. Socialist construction has made great strides in our country. We have now entered a new stage of development, the stage of intensive development, in which the qualitative factors emerge increasingly to the fore. This makes the improvement of the work of the party, the state, and the economy, and the increased role of the masses essential so that they may respond increasingly better to the demands of the time and of the conditions being created, strengthen the positions of socialism, and further promote the victories achieved.

Taking into consideration the tasks stipulated by the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum, evaluating the achievements and the demands of the time, drawing lessons from events in the countries of the East, and with the intention of securing socialist continuity and the country's freedom and independence, the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum decided unanimously:

1. To strengthen the country's internal political and economic situation in order to be able to meet outside pressure, be it political, military, or economic. To explain to the masses that the bourgeoisie and international reaction, as the events of Eastern Europe show, aim to destroy socialism and restore the system of oppression and exploitation. To liquidate the freedom that has been won, and to destroy national independence and sovereignty.

The fundamental tasks currently facing the party are:

1. To improve and intensify the party's political and propaganda work. It is essential that our people should understand the essence of the struggle currently waged against socialism in general and against our country in particular. What lies behind the demagogic slogans about the defense of human rights, political pluralism, the development of democracy, and so forth is the counterrevolutionary aim of the reaction and the bourgeoisie to snatch back the freedom and the rights won with so much blood and sacrifices.

The improvement of the party's political work requires that the links with the working masses in the countryside and in the cities be intensified, rejecting all manifestations of formalism, officialdom, and bureaucracy. This particularly includes the mass organizations, the Democratic Front, the Union of the Working Youth of Albania, the trade Unions of Albania, the Albanian Women's Union, and other social organizations.

The press, the radio and television, and the party's propaganda organs must radically improve their work so that the party's word can go to the masses more effectively and more quickly, so that it can be transmitted not through slogans and general phraseology, but through persuasive and understandable arguments. The more responsible and qualified cadres of the party, as well as specialists and activists in various fields, are to play a more active part in the party's propaganda.

2. Revolutionary vigilance is to be increased in order to meet the pressure, slander, and various provocations of the enemies against socialism and our country. Every party committee and organization is to decide by itself on the concrete measures to be adopted to increase vigilance in the sector in which it is operating.

3. The efforts and the mobilization to fulfill the planned tasks in industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, culture, and other fields are to be intensified. In particular, special attention must be paid to the export plans, which must be fulfilled qualitatively and in a timely manner. Under the current conditions, it is necessary to stimulate the spirit of thrift and innovations, cost reductions, and profitability. Communists must always be in the vanguard and set an example to all workers. The plans related to the supply of the population with foodstuffs and clothing must be fulfilled. Nothing can justify shortages of vegetables, milk, and even meat in every city. The decisions that have been adopted about the private plots and increased production of meat and so forth must be implemented creatively and persistently. The same applies to the products of the light and foodstuffs industry. The fulfillment of tasks in these fields must be viewed as also being a matter of political importance. Therefore, no carelessness can be tolerated on the part of the central organs or those at the base.

The life of the party and of the entire country is to be revolutionized. In this context, the strengthening of the party must be a constant task, because the party is the country's leading force, with which the present and future of socialism and the country's freedom and independence are linked. The preservation of the leading role of the AWP is a basic prerequisite for continuing socialist construction in Albania.

In our country's conditions, the slogans of the international bourgeoisie for pluralism of parties represent appeals for the revival of Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti [noncommunist wartime organizations] or for the creation of new antipopular, antidemocratic, and antinational organizations. This would lead to the weakening of national unity, the loss of independence, and the destruction of socialism.

The lack of numerous parties does not mean a lack of democracy. This is shown by our own reality. Our party, which is nurtured by the wisdom of the people's knowledge and thoughts in various ways, particularly through the direct participation of people in political life, in drafting and implementing the plans for the country's economic and cultural development, as well as through direct discussions about all problems affecting the people, has created the conditions for the comprehensive elevation of the role of the masses and socialist democracy. Nevertheless, the question of the line of the masses and of raising the role of the working people in the cities and the countryside in every aspect of the country's life, which also represents the essence of socialist democracy, must at all times be at the center of attention of the party and state organs. Their continuous refinement is the foundation for the maintenance and development of a revolutionary spirit.

The fundamental tasks arising in this field are:

1. As a general rule, the meetings of basic party organizations are to be open, making it possible for every nonparty member of the collective to participate if he wishes to do so. This will create conditions for the masses to become directly acquainted with the activity and decisions of the basic organizations and communists, thus checking their efficiency and results. The holding of open meetings will help to make them schools of education for the communists themselves, as well as for the working masses and for all those who are committed to the cause of the people and socialism.

2. The principle of elections is to be extended and to include not only those cadres as stipulated in the Constitution, the party's statutes, and the statutes of the mass and socioeconomic organizations, but also directors of enterprises, factories, various institutes and institutions, schools, and so forth. No cadre in these categories can be appointed by higher organs unless they have secured the approval of the respective collectives. The working collectives, which enjoy the right to elections, also enjoy the right of revocation—that is, the right to dismiss any cadre. This measure must be confirmed by a superior organ within 10-15 days.

3. Competitions are to be used extensively in the appointment of cadres and specialists, especially in cultural, educational, and scientific institutions, in the media, and in some other fields. The necessary rules are to be determined by the respective departments or institutions in conformity with the nature of their work and professional requirements. The Politburo is to determine in February 1990 which cadres are to be elected and to recommend the manner of operation in this matter, as well as in the matter of competitions.

4. The mandate of elected cadres is to be limited as follows:

In the case of secretaries of party organizations and bureaus, the term of office is to be four to five years. In the case of members of the district party committees and people's councils, the term of office is to be limited to two to three successive terms. In the case of deputies of the People's Assembly and members of the AWP Central Committee, the limit is two to three legislatures or congresses. In every case, the candidates for third terms of office must secure two-thirds of the votes over an alternative candidate. The practice of limiting the reelection of a person is to be recommended in the mass organizations and in the cultural, literary, and artistic associations. It is recommended that the Council of Ministers determine the terms of office for the directors of economic enterprises. The same applies to the assemblies of agricultural cooperatives with regard to their cadres.

Every legislative term, every conference or congress of the AWP and of the social organizations must mandatorily renew at least one- third of the membership of elected organs.

5. The election procedure for state organs is to be further perfected, during the stage of the presentation and discussion of candidates, as well as in the final election. Thus, during the process of the selection of candidates, those persons to be examined have been proposed by the social organizations. Of these, the Democratic Front can present for examination one or more candidates for a given position. Following the examination and selection of candidates, the people may decide that the final voting may take place with one or two candidates for the position of councillor or deputy of the People's Assembly. The respective state organs are to create the necessary conditions and to enforce the law on the secrecy of the ballot in all cases.

With regard to elections in the party, too, the practice of presenting and voting for more than the necessary number of candidates is to be followed.

6. In the struggle against bureaucracy, measures are to be adopted to further tighten worker control over everything and everyone. All formal limitations and so-called rules which may become an obstacle to the efficient operation of worker control are to be eliminated. Worker control must be given full mandate to ensure that the voice and action of the working class becomes decisive in the struggle against alien manifestations, bureaucracy, liberalism, violations of discipline, and so forth.

The AWP Secretariat is to be charged with the task of working out the necessary recommendations to ensure that this important organism, which must be set in

motion by the trade unions' organizations, is transformed into a revolutionizing force with decisive mandates.

For the Refinement of Socialist Legislation:

The successes in this field are well known. Our legislation is fully constitutional, democratic, and popular. Our laws reflect the interests of the people, both in their substance and enforcement. Proceeding from the need to further perfect this legislation in conformity with the elevation of the cultural standard of the people and their consciousness and their juridical education, the ninth plenum recommends the following measures:

1. Measures are to be adopted to guarantee legal defense to citizens during the process of investigation, as well as during the judicial process, or whenever they may ask for it in conformity with the rights recognized by the Constitution.

2. The institution of legal and judicial rehabilitation and release on probation is to be studied and enforced as forms of the application of justice for some categories of penal acts, and in the case of people who have been sentenced but whose behavior in society has improved.

3. The state organs are recommended to reinstate the Ministry of Justice in view of the extension of state activity and the higher degree of qualification of judicial activities.

4. The law on the village, city, and residential quarter courts is to be reviewed and improved, defining them as social instruments without the right to enacting sentences of a penal nature.

All these matters are to be examined in preparation for the coming session of the People's Assembly

On Relations With Foreign Countries:

The AWP Central Committee plenum reviewed the achievements of the foreign policy of the party and of the Albanian state. It confirmed that the diplomatic and political role of our country in the Balkan peninsula and in the Mediterranean region has grown. Albania's authority as a country with comprehensive stability is firmly established. Foreign policy has become an important factor in securing and elevating the socialist victories.

Albania has pursued and will continue to pursue a policy of peace and friendly cooperation with other countries. This has been and will continue to be its line, even under the conditions that have been created following the events in East Europe. Isolation has never been and is not our wish now. Isolation has never been and is not now the political line of the AWP and of the Albanian state. It is the enemies of Albania who have wished and now would wish for its isolation. Therefore, our stand toward the outside world must be an active one in the field of relations and political cooperation, as well as in cultural and economic relations with other countries.

Concerning the further development of our country's relations with the outside world, the AWP Central Committee plenum determined the following measures:

1. Efforts are to be made to strengthen our relations with the neighboring countries and throughout the Balkan region. New developments in the region are to be watched attentively and all of the necessary conditions are to be created for the successful proceeding of the meeting of Balkan foreign ministers to be held in Tirana this year.

2. Events in Europe and multilateral political, economic, and cultural activities taking place there are to be followed attentively and, taking into consideration our country's national interests, the relevant measures are to be determined.

3. Efforts are to be made to strengthen the international positions of Albania in the world on the basis of the well-known principles of mutual equality, respect, freedom, independence, and sovereignty, noninterference in each other's affairs, and mutually beneficial cooperation. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will maintain links with every state that responds with friendship to the friendship that we offer.

To Vitalize the Driving Forces of Socialist Production:

The Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum was acquainted with the major recommendations resulting from the studies carried out by some of the country's economic and scientific bodies in conformity with the party leadership's directives on the refinement of socialist production relations. The plenum considers these recommendations as a whole to be valuable. The plenum decided that the measures recommended should be discussed more fully at a meeting of the Politburo.

In the field of the economy, the situation is stable and the developments are positive. The economic mechanism has ensured the progress of the productive forces, has opened the way to the creation and consolidation of a complex structure, has harmonized the economic and social aspects, and has supported the progressive trends in the development of the country's life.

To further promote the victories attained and under the conditions of the intensive development of the economy, the plenum directed:

1. There must be a further increase in the competence of the base in the field of economic and financial planning, qualitatively transferring economic and managerial activities from the center to the districts and from the latter to the enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions. The Council of Ministers is to examine the results of the experiment carried out with regard to agricultural planning and extend it to other sectors, such as the food industry, some sectors of the light industry, the mining sector, transportation, communal services, the trade sector, and so forth.

2. The district executive committees are to operate actively to ensure the progress of production, services, and sociocultural activities. As a rule, the state plan is to confine itself to setting out tasks for the districts and the base. They are to have their own budgets, to also include incomes, and have the right to maneuver with the investment funds for production, construction, and transportation, as well as the education, culture, trade, and communal service budgets.

The districts must have the right to benefit from the overfulfillment of tasks or excess savings by enterprises operating in their territory.

3. Efficient ways of organizing labor and production are to be studied and applied. Where useful and reasonable, enterprises and cooperatives can be further subdivided and their sectors can be reorganized. New forms of organization can be introduced in production, such as planned tasks, piecework, and so forth.

4. The sphere of operation of economic methods and instruments is to be extended in order to open up the way to the initiative and creative activity of the working masses. The decisive step in this field is believed to be the creation of economic possibilities in order to make it possible for enterprises to effectively enjoy relative independence in conformity with the development of the socialist economy.

The management of the activity of the enterprises on the basis of independent accountability is to be perfected by studying and defining those activities that will be financed by its own incomes, as distinct from those activities that will be financed by the state budget. The independent accounts of enterprises must create the possibilities to finance extended reproduction. Generally, long- term credits are to replace state financing. Subsidies are to be used only in absolutely essential cases and must be considered consciously, instead of being imposed by the unfavorable results and inefficient expenditure of enterprises.

5. The mechanism of labor remuneration is to be perfected in conformity with the requirements posed by the intensive development of the economy. The wages of working people in the state sector of the economy are to be determined not only on the basis of the fulfillment of norms in the concrete workplace, as is the case today, but also on the basis of the final results of the factory or enterprise. In general, it is possible to operate in such a way as to change the proportion between basic pay and bonuses, in favor of the latter, by reducing the volume of the guaranteed part of the wages.

6. In conformity with the demands for economic efficiency and to strengthen the management of enterprises, the system of wholesale prices is to be improved. There must be changes in the direction of reducing unmerited profitability, fictitious efficiency, and redistribution that is not related to development priorities and the aims of social policy.

7. The economic factors for the development of agriculture production throughout the country are to be strengthened. In this context, procurement prices are to be reviewed, with the tendency of raising them. This effort also has the intention of deepening the degree of differentiation according to the various zones, with a view to raising the degree of perfecting the differentiated remittances, particularly those of the higher-type cooperatives where the state has made considerable nonreturnable investments. Procurement prices must not only stimulate the cooperatives to overfulfill plans, but also secure their fulfillment.

8. Some retail prices may also be adjusted, with the condition that primary necessity commodities continue to be sold at fixed and guaranteed prices, at the current level. The price of certain other commodities may be changed, turning the supply-demand factor into an incentive to raise labor productivity and meet the needs of the population.

9. Conditions are to be created to better meet some of the needs of the working people through economic instruments. Citizens are to be stimulated to build more apartments through use of their own funds, particularly in the agricultural enterprises, where this matter may be organized in the same way that it is in the cooperatives. In the cities and work centers the repair and extension of existing housing can be stimulated in the same way, as well as the construction of housing by the citizens, separately, or by group agreements, through mutually beneficial contractual agreements with each other or with the state. Some state housing with a high degree of amortization and that which is on the periphery of cities could be sold to the citizens currently using them at a reasonable price.

A profound differentiation is to be made in sick leave payments between those citizens who need hospital treatment and those who are treated at home, with some exceptions, naturally, in the case of some serious diseases that make hospitalization absolutely necessary.

10. The party urges that all possibilities be used to achieve a perceptible improvement in supplies for the population and to meet the growing purchasing power of the working people normally. The 1990 plan stipulates the increased supply of the market with industrial food products to be a major priority. Efforts are to be increased to secure adequate food supplies from the agricultural sector. The collective plots and herds must take on greater responsibility in supplying the rural population. In the districts, cooperatives must be stimulated to get into the city markets, where they can sell their agricultural and livestock products at prices determined by themselves. In addition to the consolidation of the collective plots and herds, other complementary measures may be adopted, similar to the government's measure to accelerate the resolving of the meat supply problem.

The AWP Central Committee plenum is convinced that these measures will further consolidate economic stability, will provide new impulses to the socialist construction and to revolutionizing the country, will strengthen the party and the people's unity around the party, and will further consolidate the victories attained and our country's freedom, independence, and sovereignty.

The Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum

Tirana, 23 January 1990

Security Service, Military Strength Described

AU1901103590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 90 p 9

[Miodrag Dinic article: "Army Under Surveillance"]

[Text] Ramiz Alia, Albanian head of state, has continued to pull the strings of Hoxha's policies, albeit with a certain relaxation. He bears an uncanny resemblance to his predecessor. He goes among the people, rallies his fellow-citizens by invoking historical leaders, folklore, and the national heritage. Following Hoxha's style, he directs the population's attention to enemies abroad, the biggest among them being Yugoslavia.

The new Albanian leader has also failed to renounce Hoxha's defense doctrine, which is mainly meant to protect the regime and not the country. This is why the Army is still being strictly controlled, because for years now there have been signs that a large number of its members are not completely loyal to the Tirana regime. Secret agents and informants have been interspersed throughout the entire Army structure, because the present Albanian rulers feel somewhat uneasy about the Army, subconsciously fearing that it may turn against them one day, as it did in Romania recently.

Thought Police

The main protection of the present Tirana regime is ensured by the State Security Directorate [uprava], "Sigurimi," which is primarily the Communist Party police. It performs the duties of an offensive political intelligence service, a counterintelligence service in the field [na teritoriji], political police, and a security service protecting party and state officials.

The building of the "Sigurimi" service is located on the main Tirana square, a four-storey building built by Italians. Whenever security officers, agents, informants, and clerks enter the building, they cannot help seeing an equestrian statue of Skenderbeg which reminds them of the battles of the past.

Future "Sigurimi" members are chosen from the circles loyal to the regime and have to be recommended by a person of high standing. After passing strict psychophysical tests, the best people continue schooling and training, and the others are employed as informants. Joining "Sigurimi" opens the way into the Albanian "jet-set" for whom it is made possible to see the world outside their isolated country.

"Sigurimi" has 26 posts in Albania in an equal number of districts, as well as its headquarters in Tirana. In its work the service relies on about 10,000 agents throughout the country, while the number of informants is impossible to establish precisely.

According to an Albanian emigre, the general opinion in that isolated country is that the "Sigurimi" activity has been brought to perfection. Apart from controlling the real world, they are also in charge of controlling dreams. It may sound incredible, but the truth is that all dreams other than those about the ideal Albanian communism are forbidden.

"Sigurimi" members are well armed. Their arsenal includes UZI and Kalashnikov automatic rifles, various cold steel weapons, and chemical weapons intended for close combat [za dejstvo na bliskom rastojanju]. They also possess the most modern communications devices, as well as taping equipment.

"Sigurimi" has its members throughout the world. They have been deployed in embassies, trade agencies, and information-cultural centers. There are also truck drivers driving via Yugoslavia as far as Scandinavia, as well as members of the UN mission in New York. They are the ones who spread Albanian propaganda, which is very well organized and aggressive. The work of "Sigurimi" members abroad is financed out of a super-secret contingency fund which is provided by underground drug trafficking and smuggling gold and arms.

The Army Belongs to the People

The Albanian Armed Forces have 42,000 regular members, including 22,400 recruits. The length of military service is 2 years for the Army, and 3 years for the Navy, air defense, and the special units. Reserves include 16,000 people up to the age of 56.

The Intelligence Directorate of the Army General Staff collects information about foreign armies, primarily the armed forces of the neighboring countries: Greece and Yugoslavia. The Counterintelligence Directorate of the People's Defense Ministry protects the Albanian Armed Forces, as well as military institutions and enterprises. According to the information received from the West and some well-informed circles, there are about 2,500 "Sigurimi" members in the Albanian Army.

Albania's military budget amounted to about $188 million in 1985 and $230 million in 1986. Since then, one could notice a constant increase in funds allocated for the Army. According to estimates made by world military experts, Albania's Army expenditure in 1990 will be somewhat over $300 million.

According to available data, with its armament and equipment the Albanian Armed Forces occupy last place in Europe. However, the increase in the military budget

indicates an orientation toward modernizing the Armed Forces. Special attention is being given to acquiring infantry armament.

Although Albania broke its relations with China after Mao Zedong's death, since 1984 containers with Chinese marks have been unloaded in the port of Durres. Western military experts claim that they contain spare parts for tanks and planes and military equipment. During the last few years the Albanian Armed Forces have been modernized with missile and communications systems produced in Italy and the FRG.

The Ground Forces consist of 31,500 members, including 20,000 recruits. These forces are divided into a tank brigade, four infantry brigades, three artillery regiments, and six coast artillery battalions. There is a shortage of spare parts for Army equipment and armament which has resulted in the reduced operational capability of these forces.

The Navy numbers 3,300 members, including 1,000 recruits. Their bases are in Durres and Vlore, as well as on the islands of Sazan and Pasha Liman.

The Air Force includes 5,800 officers and 1,400 recruits. The most modern plane in the Air Force is the Chinese Shenyang J-7. Among the Air Force helicopters, not one is equipped for antiarmor combat.

Apart from the regular Army, the Armed Forces also include 12,000 members of paramilitary [polu-vojni] units, 5,000 members of internal security, and 7,000 members of border units.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The Army:

—Tanks: 190 tanks of the T-34 and T-54 type;
—Armored combat vehicles: 13 BRDM-1;
—Armored personnel carriers: 80 of the BTR-40/-50—152 and K-53 type;
—Howitzer-gun: 122-mm M1938 and Type 60; 152-mm M1937 and Type 66;
—Howitzers: 152-mm D-1;
—Mortars: 120-mm and 160-mm;
—Multiple rocket launchers: 107-mm Type 63;
—Antitank armament: recoilless 82-mm T-21, and 45-mm M1942, 57- mm M1943, 85-mm D-44, and Type 56 guns;
—Antiaircraft defense: 50 37-mm M1939 and double 23-mm ZU-23 cannons;

The Navy:

Submarines: two Soviet-made "W" [transliterated as "V" in cyrillic] class submarines (one used for training);
—Patrol boats: two Soviet-made "Kronshtadt" class;
—Torpedo boats: 12 Chinese-made B-4 class and 32 Chinese-made "Huchuan" hydrofoils;
—Minesweepers: two inshore of the "T 301" class and six general- purpose of the "PO 2" class;
—Reserve: one "W" submarine, two "Kronshtadt" ships, two minesweepers T-34, and four "T 301" ships;

The Air Force:

Fighter planes: 20 MiG-15, 20 MiG-17, 40 MiG-19, and 20 Shenyang J-7;
—Cargo planes: 3 Il-14M and 10 An-2;
—Training planes: a squadron of MiG-15 UTI;
—Helicopters: 30 Mi-4;
—Surface-to-air missiles: five launchers equipped with SA-2 missiles.

Ambassador to France Supports Alia Statement

PM0202145690 Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Feb 90 p 6

[Alain Jacob report: "The Tirana Regime Starts Timid Change"]

[Text] Albania's ambassador to France gave a news conference to the Diplomatic Press Association on Wednesday 31 January in which he strongly condemned Mr Gorbachev's policy in the USSR and in the world and reaffirmed his country's loyalty to Stalin's memory.

The statements made by Albanian Ambassador Ksenofon Nushi were, as could be expected, fully consistent with the latest statements by Albanian leader Ramiz Alia. He made the same condemnation of Mr Gorbachev—an "extreme revisionist"—expressed the same unswerving loyalty to the legacy of Enver Hoxha and Stalin, and finally described the recent upheavals in the East European countries as a betrayal of "socialism's interests." It is clear who the enemy is and although Tirana wishes to develop its relations with the Western countries (aside from the United States), even if it does not want to poison its relations with its Yugoslav neighbors, it is unswerving in its intransigence on its independence and its own concept of socialism. The diplomat paraphrased De Gaulle's statement in June 1940: "Socialism has lost a battle, it has not lost the war."

This naturally raises the question of the way this "war" should be fought at home and abroad in a country in which, it is generally thought, television in particular has enabled the population to follow fairly closely what has been happening elsewhere "in East Europe." Apparently untroubled by the rumors of recent disturbances in his country, Ramiz Alia said much more on this subject than his representative in Paris, at a party plenum in Tirana on 22 and 23 January.

Let us give a rough summary. There is no question of a multiparty system, but why not at least offer the voters multiple candidates at some levels, with one reservation, a crucial one—that they are accepted by the "Democratic Front" over which the Communist Party has control. There will be no glasnost, but why not have "open meetings" paving the way for "control by the working masses?"

The Market, Supply, and Demand

The economy is in a bad state and Albania is suffering "shortages." Why not seek a remedy, first in "decentralization" which, among other things, would give the enterprises greater financial autonomy? He also suggested the introduction of material incentives by paying bonuses to the most productive workers, the division of agricultural production units into small units which would also be allowed to sell their products in the cities at the "market" price, and finally he suggested taking account of "supply and demand" mechanisms in fixing wholesale prices.

This language has not been heard in Tirana for 45 years and it will be noted that, although Mr Alia mentioned in his own way the move toward a "rule of law state" with a plan to set up a justice ministry, he refrained from any reference to an extension of human rights, particularly in the religious sphere.

However, this prompts two remarks. First, the Albanian Communist Party leader noted the "new" events taking place in the other communist countries as if, even if he does not say so, Albania could not watch those events without any reaction. Second, he took care to stress that it is "necessary to discuss" all these problems, in other words that the decision perhaps does not depend on him alone and that a conservative faction, said to be led by Enver Hoxha's widow, might oppose it.

Further on Discussions at Roundtable Talks

Comments by Zhelev

AU0602153790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0824 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Statement" by Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, at the opening session of the roundtable talks at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture on 6 February—live]

[Text] On behalf of our delegation, I would like to express gratitude to Comrade Lukanov for his speech and to wish him success in his new post, despite the fact that our delegation does not participate in the [?government consultations]. This, naturally, does not diminish our intention at this roundtable and through other means to express our opinion and our readiness for cooperation whenever there is a question of promoting real reforms in the country.

I would like to say something before the floor is given to Comrade Semerdzhiev. I would like to clarify our approach to this stage of development in the roundtable negotiations.

At the last three sessions of the roundtable, we discussed the present political system in Bulgaria, and we reviewed, in particular,the questions of dismantling [words indistinct] this system in accordance with the principles of democracy. [passage indistinct on roundtable platforms]

Despite the fact that the speakers sometimes digressed from the basic essence of the subject, I think that the previous roundtable talks were necessary. Before we proceed to the adoption of specific decisions, I think that [words indistinct]. This should be done [words indistinct].

I think that now, on the basis of the two documents, stating our common views and our differences, which were prepared by the joint roundtable commission, we should proceed to the detailed discussion of these documents point by point. [Words indistinct]

The first question for us is related to disbanding the primary party organizations at work places.

The second question is related to disbanding the State Security Department and concerns the depolitization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs.

The third question that should be discussed is the separation of the party from the state in the structural, financial, and property sectors. On this subject, the Communist Party should provide the necessary information to us, information related to the party's structures, its financial and property situation, as well as to the party's sources of income and resources.

This question is very important because we are obtaining information from many places, information that is sometimes backdated, concerning the [words indistinct] of party clubs, premises and buildings. Our colleagues from the Democratic Party would like to submit more detailed information on this question within the framework of this roundtable talk, perhaps toward the end of the session, or at one of the next sessions.

The fourth question that we insist on discussing more in detail, is the issue of the depolitization of the Army, the militia forces, the courts of justice, and the prosecution. We welcome the first steps adopted in this respect, but we think that this problem should be comprehensively treated, that it deserves a well-considered and final solution that should be accepted as a real commitment by the roundtable and should be implemented.

There are further questions pertaining to the political system on which we should reach an agreement before we proceed to the discussion of topical issues pertaining to our possible participation in a coalition government, such an agreement being a necessary prerequisite for proceeding to the discussion of topical issues. This also applies to the question of the elections that we still insist should only be held at the end of 1990.

We attach priority importance to the questions of the political system and of dismantling it, not because we intend to obstruct, postpone, and further delay the question of elections and of our participation in the government, as some people may presume; we do so, because we consider the advance solution of the political problems as the necessary precondition for us if we should consider such a participation.

This is so, because these [passage indistinct].

The Bulgarian Communist Party continues to hold a monopoly, it wishes to retain all the power, to consume everything, and to control everything.

What equal participation in the elections can there be? What kind of constructive share may the democratic opposition contribute in a future coalition with the Communist Party, as long as the whole power actually continues to be within the hands of the Communist Party.

Is it not evident that should the representatives of the opposition join a future coalition government, they will play the role of (?scapegoats), regardless of how many ministries and of what kind of ministries might be offered to them. They will be powerless to change anything whatsoever and they can only disgrace themselves by such efforts.

Such considerations not only determine our refusal to participate in general elections in May 1990 and to participate in any coalition government at he present stage, and even in a government that may be formed after May 1990, but they also determine our decision not to agree on discussing these two questions, even if some people are trying to convince us that they are exceptionally urgent, topical, and pressing.

On the other hand, we demand and insist that the constructive discussion on the basic issues related to the political system should be pursued so that we may, as soon as possible, reach an agreement signed by both sides.

Therefore, we think that we should begin as of today with the question of disbanding the primary party organizations. Naturally, this should be done after we have heard General Semerdhziev's statement.

Semerdzhiev Speaks

AU0602102790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0830 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Statement" by Atanas Semerdzhiev, spokesman of the Bulgarian Communist Party delegation at the roundtable talks, at the opening session of the talks at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture on 6 February—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, ladies and gentlemen, it is more than evident that the roundtable's work cannot help affecting the place and role of the ministry, or to put it better, the former Ministry of Internal Affairs and its departments in our society. You will understand later why I use the adjective former.

This is why our participation in this meeting is quite natural. There is even more: We regard our participation in this dialogue as an expression of the common interest in consolidating national security and law and order. This is an opportunity for me to express not only gratitude and satisfaction, but also to confirm our readiness not to only restrict ourselves to this statement that I am going to make.

Permit me a conventional digression. As soon as I entered this hall, I was attracted by this talented product of Bulgarian art. You all can recognize and guess the style of painter Svetlin Rusev. I draw your attention to him, because here in this painting you can see all of Bulgaria, all Bulgarian people are represented, and we are conducting this dialogue in front of the Bulgarian people, because we are concerned about their fate and future.

My role today is very much facilitated by the circumstance that, as I see from the talks' past developments, you are all well acquainted with the platform on the reorganization of Ministry of Internal Affairs departments and of their activities under the new circumstances. From the moment this platform was announced, [words indistinct] from the rostrum of the National Assembly. However, I should assure you, and sufficient facts are available to you in this respect to become convinced, that the platform's implementation is rather advanced.

The following factors are decisively influencing this platform's implementation and this entire process: The conclusions from the fundamental analysis of the past include not only a worthy evaluation of the positive factors, but also a resolute denouncement; I repeat, a resolute denouncement, of the abuses committed and a drastic distancing from them. The really revolutionary changes implemented in our country since 10 November 1989, one of which, namely the elimination of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] monopoly on the organs of power, particularly played a role. The full separation of the party from the state, as well as the awareness of the harmful consequences of the great gaps in our legal organization, which were not in conformity with the international legal norms, applies also to the country's Constitution. The main thing, of course, is the qualitatively new approach to the problems of the role and functions of the departments belonging to the former Ministry of Internal Affairs in our society.

In this epoch in which our country is implementing a revolutionary transition from an authoritarian-bureaucratic regime to a civic society, which is entirely and only subject to the supremacy of law and to the ideals of freedom, equal rights, and dignity of the human personality, the departments of the former Ministry of Internal Affairs are already turning into basically new and modern organs, placed above the party and independent of any political party. It should be only guided by the people's and state interests.

I think that all social and political forces in our country should realize how difficult and complicated Bulgaria's situation is from a strategic point of view. Therefore, I think it is unnecessary to again point out the importance of the problems related to the country's security and to the observance of law and order, the more so since the love and loyalty to our motherland and our concern for the people's well-being have convened us here at this roundtable.

I believe that the protection of security and public order is precisely the crucial element of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs' mission.

However, if I were to confine myself to this description of the mission entrusted to this institution, I would risk providing only a rough description of this institution. In order to fill out the picture, I should add that the institution is responsible for guaranteeing the absolutely peaceful—and I would like to stress, absolutely bloodless—implementation of all processes of renewal in our country. It has already been said elsewhere on another occasion that violence and democracy are as incompatible as totalitarianism is incompatible with man's dignity.

However, esteemed comrades, ladies and gentlemen, this does not provide a comprehensive picture of the mission entrusted to those organs on behalf of which I am speaking. Their duties include this mission and they include the protection of the rights and legitimate interests of all citizens. For this reason we, the employees of this institution, are convinced that we should no longer be described as a shield and sword, as we were in the past. We refuse to be called by this name, and we would

like to be considered as protectors of our society and of our people, as protectors in the most noble sense of this ancient Bulgarian word.

This understanding about our mission is not only a question of conscience, but one of civic and human ethics. Perhaps you have noticed the fact, and I have mentioned my intention of further explaining it, that I use the term former in speaking about the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I deliberately insist on this expression because this institution de facto no longer exists.

The traditional structures of the State Security service have been disbanded. A National Intelligence Service and a Protection Service will be established, which will be directly subordinate to the chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, or to the head of state, as he will be defined by the future constitution. A National Service for the Protection of the Constitution is also envisioned. All these structures are expected to function under the supreme control of the National Assembly.

I would not be giving an exhaustive answer to the increasing interest of the Bulgarian public in the current reorganization taking place in our country if I failed to announce that this process will be accompanied by a considerable reduction in staff, and first of all, leading staff. Numerous sub-departments and functions are being transferred to the Ministry of National Defense, to the Ministry of Justice, and to the local organs of state power.

Many questions were raised at former roundtable sessions. Because of my other duties, I was unable to follow closely all the stages of development that this unique dialogue of our public life has undergone. Naturally, this does not mean a lack of interest on my part. On the contrary, I am very interested and concerned, and let me confess that at some times I was painfully aware of it.

In this connection, I must mention the debates on the subject of our system and, above all, on the subject of our former state security service. I feel obliged to answer and I will do this with the greatest openness and honesty:

I rely on the same frankness and correctness on the part of those who have already expressed their views on the activities of this institution and on its future, and also on those who will discuss this subject in the future.

On 23 January 1990, Mr. Krum (?Nevrokopski), from the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Union, spoke very critically, expressing his fear that the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs might become a weapon used to restore the former regime. Such apprehensions were later repeated by Dr. Petur Beron, whom I greatly respect. They were also expressed by Petko Simeonov. Considering everything I have already said about the role and place of the former Ministry of Internal Affairs in our society, and about the mission of the newly created organs, I think you will be able to convince yourselves that there is no objective reason and no opportunity for such apprehensions. Any analogy with the past and with events that have recently occurred in other countries are out of place.

Numerous statements were made at this forum mentioning that the employees of the former Ministry of Internal Affairs would hardly be able to restructure and serve in the way that was announced by the National Assembly. Our position on this question is unmistakable, and categorical: Those who committed abuses and breaches of the law in the past have no place in the new organs. On the other hand, an accelerated and resolute cadre renewal is currently under way in the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs.

In this context, I would like to point out the profound human tragedy that affects the majority of these cadres. I am speaking about those who, in the past, under a political and social atmosphere that was rather difficult for them, were capable of preserving not only their human, civic, but also professional moral standards.

They are really living through a catharsis. In this connection, I would like to call the debates participants' attention to another, very essential factor.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs' new structures [as heard]—that, as I repeat, are already eliminated from its staff—are being transferred to the head of state's direct supervision, and this particularly applies to the National Intelligence and Protection services, and they are part of the legal defense system; and it is not possible, that when the entire society is changing and renewing, and all structures of this system are being renewed, the ministry, at least as it existed according to its former image, should remain outside this process of renewal.

I would add to this, our courageous opening to the public, the consistent implementation of an open-minded policy of glasnost. We are not afraid of facing the people's critical evaluation, of subjecting ourselves to a strong public control.

I appeal to all of you to participate in implementing this procedure. The reevaluation of certain events related to our recent past is certainly complicated. I am talking about trials and repressive measures in connection with the law on the banning of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and of other then- opposition parties. Our stand on this issue is also unmistakable and clear. It is determined by the law adopted by the National Assembly on repealing this legal document. However, I should—and this is my moral duty—express my sympathy for all those who were affected by this law's severity.

We are seriously concerned about the information submitted to this forum by Comrade Svetla Daskalova, by Mr. Yanko Yankov, and Dimitur Batalov, related to the illegal, and even gross, violations and abuses that have been committed. The mass media have also reported on such acts.

This is the case of the article published by the daily OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 2 February 1990 under the title: "A Call from the Underground." We denounce particularly sharply and categorically acts of the kind described in the article. People who have committed such acts have no place and will not have any place in our system. In connection with the aforementioned article in the daily OTECHESTVEN FRONT, as you know, the Ministry of Internal Affairs took action related to the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the Prosecutor's Office of the Armed Forces, urging these institutions to adopt the necessary measures. Our public will be informed in a timely fashion of the results of this action. This is how we shall act in all similar cases.

Permit me another digression. This morning, before I came here, I learned through a BTA publication about the establishment of a new society of democratic lawyers in our country, chaired by Mr. Yanko Yankov. We are not informed on the program and goals of this society, and I would like to assure you, Mr. Yanko Yankov, that we will study this program, and that you will have a loyal ally in dealing with abuses in the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs. I would not like to enter into conflict with any of the participants in the roundtable talks because we truly adhere to our status as a supra-party institution, and I would like to draw your attention at this fact. We are an institution that is guided by the principles of nationwide interests.

Nevertheless, I cannot help distancing myself from the statement made by Mr. Vodenicharov on 23 January 1990, according to which a state that claims to be law-governed should not have even one political prisoners. We cannot conduct discussions on questions that are sufficiently known and clear according to worldwide legal standards. This would be knocking on an open door. We cannot lump together all those who have been sentenced according to Article 1 of the relevant part of the Penal Code because there are people sentenced for subversive actions, which have caused the loss of human lives, including women, old people, and children; which have killed many innocent people; and also there are people who have committed dangerous acts, generally speaking. As a matter of fact, is there a country where such people are released in freedom? Perhaps someone at this roundtable could indicate such countries, then I would examine this information.

The best thing would be if the category you call political criminals did not exist at all. This would mean eliminating the historical conflict between the individual and the interests of society, and that these interests be protected by the laws of the country.

This is a question whose solution we (?cannot) expect in the near, or in a more distant future.

The declaration of the Union of Democratic Forces, read by Mr. Petko Simeonov, raises the question of the special troops, their activities, their staff, and the threat they represent. Our public gets more than enough information on this subject. However, I shall repeat: The soldiers subject to the Ministry of Internal Affairs are border troops reduced to a really minimal staff—it is really a miserable staff considering its number. As for domestic troops, their staff is really not comparable to the staff of similar formations in other countries, including our neighboring countries, such as Turkey and Greece. This applies to the detachments of the so-called Red Berets, who are in charge of fighting organized crime. As a matter of fact, we have for a long time been inviting our media representatives to inspect this detachment; we also invited a television crew to come and meet the personnel and become acquainted with the goals and tasks, as well as with the troops' training programs. Unfortunately, they have not yet responded to our invitation.

I will not conceal from you the fact that the staff of this detachment amounts to 150 rank-and-file men and 12-15 officers. They are all on guard duty and are supposed to take action only in cases in which Bulgarian citizens' safety is genuinely threatened.

They are in charge of preventing and interrupting terrorist actions. As for all these questions, I am ready to provide a documentary, which we could, at a later stage, or at one of the next roundtable sessions, show to the whole audience.

I would urge you to stop frightening the Bulgarian public by comparing these forces to their so-called Romanian counterparts. It is a well-known fact that the personnel recruited for all sub-detachments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs consists of young people who have just started their service. Those are our sons, the sons of the Bulgarian people, and we ask you: How could someone ascribe to them the tendency and readiness, and even the criminal inclination of shooting at we who are their parents, their brothers, and sisters?

In this context, we should also discuss the question mentioned in the declaration read by Mr. Petko Simeonov, related to telephone tapping and scrutinizing personal correspondence. This obliges me to urge you to examine Article 51 of the Bulgarian Constitution, according to which correspondence, telephone calls, and long- distance communications are truly inviolable. At the same time, it is indicated that this does not apply during mobilization and military emergency situations, and in all cases in which the prosecution organs or the court have authorized such actions. These facts are further clarified and specified in the Penal-Procedural Code, Article 139.

Some time ago, at a meeting with the Administrative Council of the Bulgarian Writers Union, I declared, and I declare again today, with all my authority, and being aware of all the responsibility I assume: I declare that no telephone conversations whatsoever are tapped, that no similar methods are applied against anyone of those who are participating in this roundtable. Nevertheless, I

would like to add that every country is applying such means, and that the more highly developed the information-communication system of a country, the more this system is perfected. In our country, such means can be applied in the future and can even already be applied, but they shall be applied only in accordance with the Constitution, with the country's laws, and at the request of the court, or Prosecutor's Office, in cases where actions likely to threaten the security of our country are involved.

I would like to add now an aside because I notice from the reaction in this hall that my statement evokes some doubts. I do not deny that such methods and means were applied in the past in violating the procedures established by the Constitution. Those who have been victims of such actions should accept our apologies.

I have no intention of raising the question about the information network. I would just like to ask you, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, comrades, is there a country where such methods are not applied? Is there a society that claims to be freely elected by the people, functioning under the most democratic procedures of social organization, that should not apply this mechanism when its own security is at stake?

I would like once more to declare that we really distance ourselves from the practice that was applied in connection with using such forms against citizens, and especially against part of the Bulgarian intelligentsia. This is the reason why the intelligentsia understands us and has never committed actions that would justify such actions.

Is it possible to publish the names of informers? Such a request was addressed to us and is contained in the declaration read by Mr. Petko Simeonov. Which country does this? If I should consent to such action, and if I should satisfy this request, it would mean that I can go straight from here to the Public Prosecutor's Office and go to the central state prison because there is a law, according to which such data is regarded as a state secret. This is how all civilized countries treat such matters and it applies even to the most highly developed democracies.

I think that the problem of the so-called depoliticization of the security organs has already been resolved. It has been resolved on the basis of the State Decree. The party organizations and party committees in our institutions have been disbanded. It is envisioned in the aforementioned decree that new organizations for educational work should be established in the near future.

Mr. Petur Beron, who briefly summed them up in his statement, has relieved me of the task of explaining the tasks of these organs. However, I must assure you, esteemed Mr. Beron, that the tasks and functions of these organs will exactly conform with our intentions. If the participants in the roundtable are patient enough, I am ready to brief them on partial explanations related to the statute of the main investigation administration.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs' leadership is resolved to adopt the necessary steps as soon as possible for eliminating the investigation department from the ministry and to reorganize it into a national investigation administration, which should be directly subject to the National Assembly.

I cannot predict how the Ministry of Justice and the Chief Prosecutor's office will react to this. Naturally, [a few words indistinct] of the National Assembly.

Finally, let me say a few words about the Belene enterprise's fate. This was one of the establishments for people sentenced to prison. Let us talk about it, despite the fact that this question was not yet raised in the process of this unique dialogue that we are conducting at the roundtable.

This is one of the most characteristic features of the regime that prevailed prior to 10 November 1989. Unfortunately, many people have been affected by this and their conviction was totally unjustified from the point of view of our present time.

This institution's unfortunate reputation spread even outside the borders of our country. This institution is a modern agricultural enterprise today in which only people who are sentenced for the first time and for [word indistinct] crimes are serving sentences.

In 1988, the institution was visited by a group of foreign journalists who said that the conditions existing in this institution had nothing in common with those of the past. [words indistinct]. Despite this fact, our ministry's leadership is firmly resolved to adopt the necessary measures for closing down the institution. Naturally, this decision's implementation requires some time because the farm's funds amount to approximately 10 million leva. It produces considerable agricultural goods and the change of its status should not affect its production program and production capacity.

I announce to the esteemed audience that the Belene Municipality, and perhaps also some of the other nearby situated municipalities, have great interest in taking over the enterprise. However, whenever we decide on its future, it would be appropriate to take into consideration the aforementioned institutions' opinions.

My statement was perhaps a bit longer than I wished. However, this is not my fault. The questions addressed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs are numerous. They affect a crucially important sphere. They affect the problem of national security and the protection of the rights and interests of our citizens. This is a sphere to which every state with any self-respect attaches great importance.

I am ready to answer any question you ask me. Thank you for your attention.

Further on Semerdzhiev

AU0602154990 Sofia BTA in English 1432 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Interior Minister Says State Security Is Disbanded"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, described the management of his ministry as "former" because the ministry's reorganization program which he presented to the National Assembly three weeks ago has reached a very advanced stage.

Today the minister addressed the participants in the roundtable discussion between the official authorities and the opposition. His expose and the question-and-answer session took more than five hours.

Asked by one of the participants, he said that the ousted dictator is now held under guard at the Institute of Military Medicine in order to keep him healthy and to create conditions for the successful completion of the investigation against him.

The incumbent management of the ministry resolutely condemns the abuses of the past and categorically distances itself from them. It has a different view of the Interior Ministry's functions in society. The law-enforcement authorities become new and modern bodies independent of any political party and guided solely by the interests of the people and the state. Their task is to protect security and order. They have for an object to secure the peaceful and absolutely bloodless implementation of all processes of renewal in this country.

"We don't want to be regarded as a shield and a sword any longer, we want to be seen as a guardian of society and the people in the noblest sense of the word," the minister said.

The traditional State Security structures have been disbanded. A National Intelligence Service has been set up, and the roster size of the security service established in the place of the Security and Protection Department will be only 20 per cent of the latter's. Both services report directly to the head of state. A new National Service for the protection of the Constitution is being set up and its composition will be announced soon at the National Assembly. The Prisons Department will be taken over by the Ministry of Justice which will establish a Judicial Police Force. The State Security's Criminal Investigation Department is separated from the Interior Ministry and will be reorganized into a National Investigation Service reporting to the National Assembly, the minister of internal affairs said.

The size of personnel is cut dramatically, especially in senior positions. Those who have committed abuses in the past can no longer serve in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs employs 50,000 people at the most, and this number is now going down.

The minister explained that the special forces of the ministry now include a small Border Guard and 2,000 Interior Ministry Troops. The strength of the latter is incomparable to similar units in neighbouring countries. The same applies to the Red Beret units which fight organized crime. They number 150 enlisted conscripts and 15 officers.

Bulgaria's northern border is entirely unguarded and the western border is guarded by utmostly limited effectives. [sentence as received] He explained that the dismantling of barbed wire fences along the western border began in early January. It was then, however, that enormous quantities of foods and children's clothing started to be smuggled from Bulgaria into Yugoslavia.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs declared that the phones of the participants in the roundtable discussions are not wire-tapped. Phone calls of intellectuals are no longer monitored, either. The minister signed an assertion that no listening devices are installed on the premises of the Union of Democratic Forces in Sofia. "However," the minister said, "every country resorts to such surveillance methods. [quote marks as received] In Bulgaria they will be applied only in compliance with the constitution, under a court ruling or a Prosecutor's Office order when the actions or behavior involved threaten the country's security. The minister did not deny that the constitution has been breached in the past and he apologized to those affected.

Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov intervened at this point and said that he also qualifies for the apology because his telephone has been tapped, too.

General Semerdzhiev said that the files cannot be made available to their subjects as this was not done in any country around the world.

He explained that the State Council decree released for publication a couple of weeks ago decided the matter of the depoliticization of the law-enforcement authorities.

One of the most typical symbols of the old regime, the prison camp on the Island of Belene in the River Danube, many of whose inmates have been wrongfully convicted, will be closed down, the minister announced.

In answer to a question the minister said that a large amount of firearms, handed out for various reasons in the past, is being held by the civilian population. This is causing serious concern to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. "We are tracing those people and we are firmly determined to collect the arms. Over the last few weeks, the Interior Ministry authorities have collected 8,940 pieces of firearms of different types from civilians.."

Representatives of the opposition urged for a public inquiry into the activities of State Security, for the abolition of the restricted-access borderland zones, for troop level cuts in the border guard and its transfer under

the command of the Ministry of National Defense. They were answered that under the effective constitution, this is legally impossible, just as it is impossible to open to the public the files archives. Members of the Union of Bulgarian Writers recently gave up the idea to campaign for the declassification of the Interior Ministry archives "so as not to fall out with each other when they learn who informed on whom," said the ministry's spokesman, Mr Yordan Ormankov.

Opposition Refuses To Join

AU0602195590 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Opposition Does Not Wish To Participate in a Coalition Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—The chairman of the Union of the Democratic Forces Zhelyo Zhelev confirmed today at the "roundtable" the principle decision of the opposition not to participate in a coalition government. When the whole power belongs to the Communist Party it is impossible to have a coalition. According to him, it is more important that the negotiating sides—the ruling parties and the opposition—reach agreement on concrete issues, on the solution of which depends the transition from totalitarianism to democracy. Zhelyo Zhelev added that the refusal to participate in a coalition government does not imply that the opposition will not promote the democratic reforms.

Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov said that the Council of Ministers will consult the "roundtable" participants on essential issues. "This is one of the ways to achieve national agreement," he said. "We will be glad if some of the 'roundtable' participants will agree to participate in the government. This is a matter of more discrete consultations." Yesterday, Andrey Lukanov began consultations for setting up of a new Cabinet.

Leaders of the opposition parties and associations rejected the possibility to participate in the new Cabinet. The leaders of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party "Nikola Petkov" and of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party firmly refused to participate in a coalition government. The leader of the Radical Democratic Party Elka Konstantinova explained that her party is ready to participate in a coalition government only after free elections. Dr Trenchev, chairman of the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation said that a real participation in the country's management is impossible at this time. Peter Beron, the Union of the Democratic Forces secretary said that his opinion coincides with that of the Union.

Tomorrow the "roundtable" will have a session on the problems of the political system. The BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] delegation is now headed by Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the BCP Supreme Council, who replaced A. Lukanov.

Council Presents Demands

AU0702100090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0740 GMT 7 Feb 90

["Statement" by Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, at roundtable talks in Sofia on 7 February—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, the thorough evaluation of the events that have occurred over the last few weeks in connection with the country's political and economic problems is rather pessimistic. As chairman of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, I am authorized by the Coordination Council, which held an expanded meeting with the participation of other delegation members from the Union of Democratic Forces represented at the roundtable talks, to make the following statement:

The decisions of the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Congress that ended a few days ago and the government's resignation are a new attempt to delude Bulgarian and foreign public opinion that a real democratization is under way in Bulgaria.

By partially reshuffling the nomenklatura, but leaving the repressive apparatus untouched, the rulers are only striving to preserve their power. There is even more: A permanent and unrestrained campaign is waged for frightening the members of movements and parties rallied in the Union of Democratic Forces, especially in the provinces, while the leaders of democratic opposition are victims of a mass campaign of personal defamation and gross disinformation.

The effort to involve the opposition in a coalition Cabinet is also a poorly concealed attempt to discredit the opposition. In pretending to conduct a constructive dialogue with the Union of Democratic Forces, the BCP does not propose a democratic solution of the crisis, but the restructuring of a totalitarian model of political and economic social organization whose total incapacity, anti-humanitarian nature, and hopeless inefficiency has been confirmed over several decades and all over the world. We are profoundly convinced that a real democratization of our society can begin only after the following prompt and radical changes, namely:

1. The immediate disbanding of the Communist and Komsomol primary organizations in workplaces and liberation of our economic life from the incompetent ideological interference of such groups.

2. The immediate disbanding of the State Security Services under conditions of total glasnost, and the investigation of its activities by a parliamentary commission with the participation of opposition representatives authorized by the Union of Democratic Forces. This investigation should by all means include the full disclosure of the structure, staff number, budget, and armament of the State Security. With this, and as soon as possible, the abolition of border zones, off-limit areas, and fortifications should begin; and the Army personnel

of border guards should be reduced, and these troops should be placed under the supervision of the Ministry of National Defense. Our urgent request is based on the fact that the construction of the so-called fortifications, namely the off-limit zones, alone have cost the Bulgarian taxpayers approximately 15 million leva, not counting the maintenance of this anachronism in present-day Europe, while thousands of square kilometers of Bulgarian territory have been turned into unarable wasteland as a result.

3. The existing political situation requires the urgent depolitization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Courts of Justice. The employees of these institutions should not be members of any political party, which would ensure their supra-party role and impartiality.

4. Broad glasnost is required and commissions should be established with the participation of all opposition parties and organizations for investigating the activities of public figures at all levels of the Communist Party, the Komsomol, the government, the affiliated organizations, the State Security, and the People's Militia who are involved in crimes.

5. Comprehensive and exact information is required on the country's economic state and its debts as one of the necessary prerequisites for developing an economic program so that the country may be rescued from the crisis.

6. All legal acts that are in contradiction with the generally accepted principles and norms of international law and Bulgaria's international commitments should be abolished. It is sufficient to mention the regulations on residence rights, the open questionnaires [otkriti listove], Articles 39 and 40 of the Law on the People's Militia, which are disgracing our country in the eyes of the civilized world.

7. Immediate abolition of all laws restricting the right of property is required. The principle should be adopted that the right of private property is a sacred and inviolable right. The land should be restored to the owners and their heirs. Only and solely private property is capable of motivating human labor and of making it highly effective, and this is undeniably proved by practice in developed democratic societies. The thesis that without 40 years of socialism Bulgaria would have remained in the backward stage of gaslight and wooden plows is totally ridiculous, and it is not even worth being discussed.

8. The relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union should be placed on an equal basis and the efforts of Russification in education and culture should be discontinued. In the economic sector, a reevaluation of Bulgaria's activities within CEMA is called for in order to distance our country from this organization, whose inefficiency has been confirmed, and to direct our country to the EC and other industrial democracies.

9. Opportunities to return should be established for Bulgarian citizens who emigrated from our country for political reasons during the period of the totalitarian regime, involving world-famous experts in the field of politics, law, economics, ecology, and other spheres of public life, to serve as advisers in solving the problems in these areas and in the purpose of building a future, post-totalitarian society.

We demand the urgent solution of these problems by the national roundtable as a confirmation of its effectiveness or non- effectiveness. The refusal to agree on each of the enumerated problems may justifiably be regarded as doubtless proof of unwillingness for a real democratization of the political and economic system in our country. Such a development would question the usefulness of the roundtable negotiations and would not justify the hopes of millions of Bulgarian citizens that the foundations of a really humanitarian, civilized, and democratic society should at last be established. Thank you for your attention.

Lukanov on Forming New Government

AU0602181790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "RABOTNICHESKO DELO Interview With Andrey Lukanov, Bulgaria's New Premier" in Sofia on 3 Febuary]

[Text] [Lukanov] In forming the new government I will rely on all those who have good ideas and who understand the state of our economy. I will try to involve all intellectuals who are ready to cooperate with the government, including economists and economic managers with practical experience.

I had the opportunity to conduct a dialogue with the opposition from the Union of Democratic Forces. Among them I found numerous people whose intellectual qualities I appreciate. Regardless of our different opinions, I think that there is enough common ground for us to share and that we should put aside our real differences and let them be resolved through elections.

We need new laws likely to guarantee the actions of the government. However, we will strive for a firm and consistent observance of the existing laws. Naturally, one of the government's main tasks should be the accelerated preparation of new draft laws that the National Assembly is expected to discuss and approve. This should be one of the priorities with which we are expected to deal.

As for my personal feelings, I consider my election to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers at this dramatic moment as an additional burden, but also as a sign of appreciation for my efforts to which I cannot be indifferent.

First, we should deal with the social problems with an anti-crisis program, and we should adopt effective measures for the people's and the workers' protection against the inevitable results of such an anti-crisis program. Second, we should alleviate the social tension and establish an atmosphere of social peace in our country because unless we do so, no programs whatsoever have a chance of being successful. Third, we need a legislative program, specifically, a law-governed state. The government should properly implement its role in constructing such a state before, during, and after the elections. We are also responsible for the social peace and the democratic nature of the elections because we are one of its most important guarantors.

I would like the government to conduct a dynamic information policy and to maintain exceptionally close relations, based on goodwill, with the media within the country and abroad. We are greatly relying on our journalists' corps. As part of our nation, you are sharing our responsibility for the atmosphere in this country. We hope to rely on your constructive criticism and on your objectivity.

As to the question whom I should invite to participate in the new government, this will depend on the consultations expected to be conducted. We do not exclude the participation of various social forces. On the contrary, the broader the social and sociopolitical basis of the new government should be, the better the chance for its contribution to the nation's well-being. In my opinion, this government should be distinguished by its resolute rejuvenation, and a great competence, regardless of the parties and sociopolitical forces to which its future members should belong. It should be a government composed of professionally well-trained people with modern ideas.

Petitions Commission Report at BCP Congress

AU0602190790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Feb 90 p 7

["Report of the Commission on Personal Petitions, Complaints, and Applications," read by Evtim Stoimenov, chairman of the commission, at the 1 February session of the 14th Extraordinary Bulgarian Communist Party Congress in Sofia]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates, a total of 1,543 petitions, complaints, applications, and letters from ordinary citizens, basic party organizations, labor, and creative collectives from all over the country have been so far submitted to the 14th Extraordinary BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Congress. A number of them, namely 250, contain specific proposals, related to the congressional documents, which are within the competence of the relevant congressional commissions. Some 230 proposals raise questions on examining the party status of Communists who have been punished and of recognizing the uninterrupted party service of members expelled from the party. The third group of proposals—425—are related to requests for the recognition of the title: "Active Fighter Against Fascism and Capitalism" that, according to the commission, should be reviewed and decided by the Union of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism. The remaining 632 petititons, complaints, and applications are connected with unsatisfactory housing conditions, unresolved legal cases, labor conflicts, territorial-settlement issues, and other such problems. They should be submitted to the competent organs for reviewing and settling. Following the amendment of paragraphs 2 and of Article 1 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the party is only competent to answer qustions related to its own inner-party life and activities. In accordance with the aforementioned statement, the Commission on Personal Petitions, Complaints, and Applications proposes that the congress should adopt the following decision:

1. The congress should accept the report of the Commission on Personal Petitions, Complaints and Applications to the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress.

2. The commission entrusts the newly elected Central Commission on Party Ethics (if it should be accepted according to the new Party Statute) with reviewing all petitions and complaints of citizens submitted to the congress and related to the party status, and with adopting relevant decisions.

3. The commission submits all citizens' applications submitted to the congress and related to the title "Active Fighter Against Fascism and Capitalism" to the Union of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, for review and adoption of respective decisions, which should extend to repressed political leaders and to those who have been deprived of their title.

4. The commission entrusts the newly elected Supreme Party Council with submitting all personal petititons, complaints, and applications that have been addressed to the congress to the competent organs for reviewing and settling the problems related to them. Thank you for your attention.

Manifesto of Democratic Socialism Cited

AU0402205590 Sofia BTA in English 2003 GMT 4 Feb 90

["Manifesto of Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 4 (BTA)—The Manifesto of Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria, adopted at the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] which ended two days ago, was presented for publication. The draft of this document, transmitted by the BTA in the second half of last month, was widely discussed by the Communists in the country and by representatives of different social strata.

The manifesto which was approved has preserved the structure and the character of the draft, but besides some editorial improvements there are some new points

reflecting the numerous recommendations that were made before and during the animated debates at the congress.

The section dealing with the causes for the present grave social and economic situation in the country is elaborated on and a stress is laid on the necessity to call to account those who abused the party and the people's confidence or acted against the law.

The ideological and theoretical basis of the BCP is made more clear by mentioning its adherence to all things the rightfulness of which has been confirmed by practice and to everything that is still true from the heritage of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Blagoev, Dimitrov and other eminent Marxist theoreticians of other countries and parties. Only the classics of the Marxist theory were mentioned in the draft.

The Manifesto underlines that the BCP will continue to wage an ideological and political struggle in defense of the socialist choice made by the Bulgarian people.

In the section treating the personnel policy of the party BCP it is pointed out that the BCP will maintain a small apparatus of political assistants and that the BCP and its leadership will dismiss all compromised party figures. Care will be taken not to bring discredit on those members of the staff who worked honestly.

A new point in treating international relations is the statement that the BCP is a party of internationalists.

Concerning the economic and social policy it is said that the processes of stabilization of the economy and its improvement may be accompanied by stagnation and even by a certain decrease of personal and public consumption.

Declaring its adherence to the idea of developing different forms of ownership, private and mixed forms of ownership included, the BCP endorses the principles of state economic regulation which will consist in indirectly influencing the economic life in the country on legal grounds.

The BCP stands for the development of an economy that will be entirely devoted to satisfying the needs of man. It is also envisaged to adopt a law by virtue of which illegally gained income and property can be confiscated in favor of the state.

The views on the radical economic reform and the stabilization of economic life are enriched. The stress is laid on the necessity to regroup the resources for ensuring accelerated development of agriculture, the food and the light industry and tourism by immediately introducing various economic forms and relations in these sectors.

It is pointed out that as early as this year the economic reform should be provided with a legal basis.

According to the BCP all law-enforcement and law-protection authorities and the Army should be super-party institutions. It is for the rapid and effective accumulation of country's own scientific potential.

Republican Party Holds Constituent Conference

AU0302200490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] The Republican Party held its constituent conference in Sofia today. According to the conference's working documents, the new political organization will unite citizens who are campaigning for expanding free initiative and for economic activity freed from state restrictions.

The party's economic platform states that part of the state's means should be privatized and handed over into the possession, without any time restriction, of groups, collectives, and private persons, who will manage them and pay rent, tax, or interest for them.

Professor Dr. Aleksandur Popov was elected chairman of the organizing committee and interim chairman of the Republican Party. The party will convene its first congress during the first half of March and will prepare to take part in the forthcoming elections.

Christian Republicans Seek Vote on Monarchy

AU0602141490 Sofia BTA in English 1115 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Christian Republican Party Suggests Referendum on Republic or Monarchy in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—In its declaration published in the bulletin of the BTA Courier Press Service the Christian Republican Party, founded on November 24, 1989, suggests a referendum to decide what Bulgaria should be, a republic or monarchy.

The Christian Republicans state that "since September 9, 1944, lots of unlawful acts have been committed in Bulgaria" and insist that the process of democratization in the country "should make a fresh start by holding referendums on all key problems, including a referendum to determine what Bulgaria should be, a republic or a monarchy."

"Although we are republicans we demand it, because according to the republican principles the supreme power should account to the public," the declaration points out.

The Courier Press Service has also published an open letter of the Bulgarian Democratic Monarchist Party, which has its headquarters in Plovdiv, to the Union of Democratic Forces. They demand to restore the former Bulgarian Tsar Simeon to his civic rights.

"We consider it expedient to raise the question of the restoration of the civic rights of His Majesty Tsar Simeon II of Turnovo at the roundtable talks. This will

be an act of enormous political prestige without being treated, at the same time, as restoration of the monarchy," the letter of the Democratic Monarchists says.

"What kind of democracy are we going to show to the world when we interview our former monarch, definitely avoiding touching upon the question of his exile, a banishment that took place in his childhood. How should it be possible to discriminate against a child because it had the fortune or misfortune to be born a tsar?" the Democratic Monarchists ask.

King Simeon Discusses Future

AU0602215390 Vienna Television Service in German 2007 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Interview with King Simeon of Bulgaria by Friedrich Orter in Madrid; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted on historical events] [Orter] We have the paradoxical situation that the Communist leadership called the rule of your father and yourself the monarchic-fascist era. In the meantime, there are even attempts by the still-ruling Communist Party of Bulgaria to approach you to help in rebuilding democracy. How can you and how do you want to help?

[Simeon] I think that there are many possibilities of showing that we were not a monarchic-fascist dictatorship or something like this. What they have had so far was not an example of democracy or something like this.

[Orter] How do you see the path for Bulgaria?

[Simeon] I think that one should not make the same mistake as the Communists made in the past, when they eliminated so many positive and educated people just because they were not Communists. We have to learn from this. Every Bulgarian who is needed, who has practical skills, and who can do something for Bulgaria at the moment must be included in order to reconstruct this new Bulgaria.

[Orter] Realistically seen, in Bulgaria, too, there is a development toward taking the term Socialist People's Republic out of the name of the state. Perhaps in the future there will be a Republic of Bulgaria. How can you participate in the work in this Republic of Bulgaria?

[Simeon] Well, a Republic of Bulgaria would sound quite normal and presentable. If the country remains a republic and if it is the home of freedom and democratic development and has a rather healthy economy, God, nothing can be said against this. I think, quite the contrary, that I would really be very pleased if they could manage to achieve such a change without any problems. Personally, we would welcome this.

[Orter] This means that you would not feel any false nostalgia if there were not a monarchy?

[Simeon] No, perhaps because I left Bulgaria at such a young age, the idea of nostalgia in politics is completely alien to me.

Rules Regulating Foreigners Stay in Nation

AU0602140290 Sofia BTA in English 1251 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, January 6 (BTA)—The Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have published the rules regulating the application of the Law of Foreigners' Stay in Bulgaria.

To be allowed entry to Bulgaria foreign citizens should possess diplomatic, service, sailors' or ordinary passports. Substituting documents such as national identity cards with an appendix for foreign travel are also acceptable, but only if issued by countries Bulgaria has entered a specific agreement with; temporary passports, laissez-passer certificates, passavants, etc.; permissions and permits for crossing the border issued on the basis of bilaterally concluded international agreements which Bulgaria is a party to; documents for foreign travel possessed by persons without nationality.

The validity of transit visas is three months as of the date of issue. Double-term visas valid for six months and reiterated visas valid for one year are also issued.

Radioactivity Suspected in Imported Phosphorite

AU0602141590 Sofia BTA in English 1336 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Imported Phosphorite Suspected of Radioactivity"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—The Ecoglasnost Independent Society applied for information to the competent state authorities, insisting to get clear and categorical answers to the following questions about the production of phosphoric fertilizers at the Chemical Combined Works in Dimitrovgrad: What is the degree of radioactivity of the phosphorite supplied from abroad? Why there is no governmental document to specify the admissible level of radioactive elements' concentration in the raw material supplied? What is the amount of radioactive elements that have penetrated in the soil? Are the uranium and radium accumulated in the heaps of phosphoplaster [as received] situated near the town dangerous for environment and people? Why is no technology for extracting uranium from the raw material made use of in the country? What danger the workers engaged in the production of phosphoric fertilizers are exposed to? And, are the agricultural products treated with phosphoric fertilizers radioactive?

The inhabitants of Dimitrovgrad are seriously alarmed by the fact that the vessel "Artist Moore" was discharged in the port of Burgas, which the Soviet ports refused to do because of its dangerous cargo of Moroccan phosphorite with a high concentration of uranium and radium. The material will be used by the Combined Works in Dimitrovgrad.

Kurdzhali Delegation Protests Against Pollution

AU0502200490 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 5 Feb 90

["Kurdzhali Protests Against Pollution of Environment"—BTA headline]

[Text] Kurdzhali, February 5 (BTA)—10,844 inhabitants of Kurdzhali demand that the toxic production of the firm lead and zinc complex should be stopped. Today an authorized delegation left for Sofia where they will present a petition to the National Assembly.

For 35 years now the air in Kurdzhali and the neighboring settlements has been strongly polluted. The land and the water near the firm lead and zinc complex are poisoned by metals which are among the most dangerous and toxic ones. Skin and infectious diseases among children in the city outnumber the average figure in the country by far. The cause for the disastrous situation is the lead production at the lead and zinc complex and the inhabitants of the city insist that it should be stopped.

Romanian Plant Said Polluting Ruse's Air

AU0602200190 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Another Chlorine Cloud Over Ruse"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—It was difficult again to breathe in Ruse today due to the cloud of chlorine brought over by the northeastern wind from the chemical plant in the Romanian town of Giurgiu.

The local measuring services for environment protection showed a chlorine content in the air reaching from 1.4 to 1.86 times above the admissible concentration.

For more than 10 years the population of this large Bulgarian city has been subjected to a constant torture and poisoning due to the worn-out installations of the Romanian plant. As it is known in the years of Zhivkov and Ceausescu's regimes this issue was kept silent while the attempts for protest in Bulgaria were severely punished by the authorities. Over the last weeks the Ruse authorities proposed cooperation to the Giurgiu authorities for joint actions in the solution of ecological problems. The equipment of the chemical plant in Giurgiu are old and correspond to no ecological requirements whatsoever.

Situation in East Germany Viewed

AU0702091490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Jan 90 p 7

[Petur Bochukov article: "The German Question and Europe"]

[Excerpts] The speed at which essential revolutionary changes are taking place in the GDR is so accelerated that it is difficult and, in certain cases, even entirely impossible to accept and analyze their extent and their influence upon the pan-European processes.

The hurricane of reforms not only swept away the Berlin Wall, which was the most disgraceful creation of the Stalinist-camp socialism [lageren sotsializum] in Central Europe, but radically changed the country's political landscape. This pace of events surprised the politicians, and the first questions that emerged among them at the beginning of November 1989 were: How will these changes influence the relations between the two German states; do they not represent a sort of prelude to their reunification; and how will the great powers and the European neighbor countries react to them?

Despite the fact that the recent answers given to these questions are numerous and diversified, they are full of conditions and provisos, and numerous arguments indicate that the "delicate balance" in Europe may be disrupted and a great East-West tension may emerge again. Such danger really exists, because the steps toward Germany's reunification are ahead of those related to the construction of a common European home.

Such a course of events is not only unpredictable, but also likely to end in a prompt disruption of the existing structures of security and in a destabilization of the situation on the continent. The current political and socioeconomic state of the GDR, which shows growing instability, and the extensive crisis of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, which lost half of its membership within the past months and whose rank-and-file members increasingly insist upon its self-disbandment, provides sufficient arguments in support of this theory.

The European public, including the Bulgarian public, is greatly concerned about the German question, believing that it affects vital interests of all countries in our continent. The development of relations between the FRG and the GDR is likely to turn into a serious catalyst of the pan-European process, but is also likely to become a destructive factor if—on account of excessive speed—it should collide with the current international legal order. The question that concerns everyone is how to avert the second alternative and how to prevent the balance in Central Europe from being disrupted.

In searching for an answer to this question, we should base ourselves on the principle that Hamlet's dilemma does not apply to the German question because reunification is certainly forthcoming. The question is how and under what conditions it is expected to take place. As a matter of fact, let us examine the historical facts, the plans and stands of the two German states, and the approach of the countries belonging to the anti-Hitlerite coalition, which are responsible for Germany from the time of the Potsdam agreements. [passage omitted]

The disintegration and self-denial of the political and socioeconomic structures in Europe that emerged as a result of World War II are undeniable and evident. New Europe is in the process of emerging today, but the future

character and image of this new Europe are still vague. One of the main reasons for this is that the road to this new Europe inevitably crosses the German question. Claiming that the solution of this question lies in a distant future, however, shows that events are ahead of the new political thinking. [passage omitted]

It is evident that the sharp edge of the inter-German rapprochement can be softened only by creating elements of pan-European organization. Under the conditions of a future European Confederation, a greater Germany could not represent a threat for anyone. Nevertheless, any attempt to artificially accelerate the processes of drawing closer together and weakening the existing structures of power in the GDR might provoke certain events likely to eliminate the chances of building our common pan-European home. [passage omitted]

The problems related to the path toward Germany's reunification are difficult. Today no one would consider this idea as an attribute of revanchist propaganda any more. Historical experience, however, cannot be ignored. Two devastating wars began in German territory in our century. For this reason, it is necessary to give priority attention to the most important principle that should be observed in solving the German question—namely the principle of gradual development and of observing the interests of all countries on the continent. Only the path toward a united Europe can lead to Germany's reunification.

Papers Comment on Bush Troop Cut Proposal

MLADA FRONTA: 'Right Step'

AU0602185590 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 2 Feb 90 p 5

[Ivana Stepankova commentary: "A Well-Timed Proposal"]

[Text] American congressmen applauded President Bush five times as he read his Message on the State of the Union. As the REUTER agency stated, among the last to join the applause when President Bush announced his proposal for troop cuts in Europe were the joint chiefs of staff. For the first time since his inauguration last year, George Bush evidently took over the initiative in the sphere of the all-European process. It would be inappropriate to lend support to the reasoning of some agencies that Bush took advantage of M. Gorbachev's momentary difficulties while the USSR is paralyzed by interethnic strife, while there is tension in the ruling Communist Party, and while M. Gorbachev is forced to deny reports that he intends to resign from the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. As a matter of fact, immediately before his speech in Congress the American President telephoned M. Gorbachev. The two men spoke primarily about developments in Europe and about disarmament talks—in other words, just as the United States' NATO allies did, Moscow knew beforehand that G. Bush would propose a cut in the number of American and Soviet troops in Central and East Europe to 195,000 men.

In the wake of the first wave of enthusiasm over the American proposal, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that while the United States has 305,000 men in this area, according to some sources, the USSR has 570,000 soldiers stationed here. The data differs according to whether only the center of Europe or Europe as a whole are taken into consideration. In the case of an agreement being concluded, the USSR would definitely have to withdraw several times the number of troops which the United States would have to withdraw, a fact to which Soviet spokesman Gerasimov also referred to in his initial reaction. The issue of the timetable of the withdrawal also remains open.

What is positive is the approving, though cautious, response of Moscow to Bush's proposal. Nonetheless, Moscow still wants to discuss it within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. Approving reactions have come also from NATO Secretary General Woerner, FRG Chancellor Kohl, and the British Government. In our region, too, the American standpoint needs to be welcomed because its realization would make it possible to place the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Central Europe into a broader European context involving both the Warsaw Pact and NATO. It is possible that Moscow, whom the governments of Czechoslovakia and Hungary have already requested to withdraw its troops from their territories, would find such a collective solution more congenial. It is also interesting, however, that the proposals submitted thus far, and the reactions to them, do not indicate an answer to the question of the role of the German states in the radical reduction of armed forces. The fact that, in addition to 246,000 U.S. soldiers, there are also 120,000 British and French soldiers in the FRG (compared with 380,000 Soviet troops in the GDR) is not accounted for either.

The great significance of Bush's disarmament proposal should not make one forget the other points of the State of the Union Message that have drawn applause from congressmen (though sometimes only from the Republican side). The President said that U.S. troops would return from Panama by the end of February. In spite of changes in the Communist countries, he once again pressed ahead with the SDI program. He also announced a plan under which all American children should have a secondary school diploma by the year 2000, and he announced the start of the "Beautiful America" project involving the expansion of national parks.

With his State of the Union Message, G. Bush surely won more supporters for his inconspicuous presidency. The proposal for troop cuts by the two big powers in Europe will certainly figure on the agenda of J. Baker's visit to Moscow next week, as well as the agenda of the Vienna talks. It was the right step at the right moment.

Bratislava PRAVDA: 'Complicated' Problem

AU0602190390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Feb 90 p 5

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "In Coordination and in Parallel"]

[Text] In his State of the Union address President George Bush did not lay the main emphasis on domestic political issues, as American presidents have always done until now, but he gave priority to foreign policy issues. Obviously, he had nothing specific to say about domestic problems, so he opportunistically used the process of change under way in Central Europe to make generally popular proposals to reduce the number of armed forces in Central Europe. He had expected to receive help from the mood and political processes in East European countries, countries which are pressing for the withdrawal of Soviet forces. In conceiving his proposal, Bush certainly had in mind the political and military advantages of such a step.

In a nutshell, Bush's proposal is that the United States and the Soviet Union should reduce the number of their forces in Central and East Europe to 195,000 men. According to Western figures, the United States has 305,000 troops in Europe. Contained in Bush's proposal are only the 270,000 troops in Central Europe—to be more precise in the FRG—while an additional 35,000 troops are stationed in the "external" European zone in Britain, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. This contingent would not be affected by the proposal. The Soviet Union has its military units stationed only in the suggested

reduction zone—that is, in Central and East Europe, and would have to reduce several times as many troops from its total of 570,000 (American figures). However, in the case of an agreement being reached, the important point is that the USSR would be left with 195,000 troops outside its own territory in Europe while the United States would have 230,000 troops.

Despite this, the Soviet Union has welcomed President Bush's proposals, but so far has not responded. It will probably receive them officially on paper at the Vienna negotiations on reducing conventional forces in Europe. The Soviet Union is willing to consider the American proposal, but, as it does not have its military units stationed anywhere other than Central and East Europe, it will require more time to study these proposals.

Comments on the President's State of the Union address as a whole have also appeared in Soviet reactions. They criticize, in particular, the ideologization contained in Bush's address. Gennady Gerasimov, the Soviet press representative, among others said that observations made in a spirit of confrontationist ideology "about the victory of the American ideal and the collapse of Communism" do not correspond to the present time. Such observations come from the cold war period which, according to President Bush, belongs to the past. Gerasimov also criticized Bush's celebratory statements about the American military intervention in Panama and the Soviets also noticed a passage on the strategic threat from the Soviet side. In this passage, G. Bush insisted that the United States would continue to modernize its strategic strike weapons and develope its "star wars" program. Such words are at variance with the President's proposal to reduce troops at a time when the "pacts policy" [NATO and the Warsaw Pact] has given way to new attitudes of cooperation between states.

It seems that Moscow does not reject the White House's initiative; however, Moscow has obviously given priority to collectively resolving the problem of reducing the number of forces in Europe with the participation of other states so that the demilitarization of Central Europe takes place in parallel in both blocs. In his address on 31 January, President Bush did not put forward a specific timetable for implementing his proposal; maybe this could be discussed at the Vienna talks where all the NATO and Warsaw Pact member states are represented. Lastly, this forum is the most competent to deal with these issues. For example, Czechoslovakia is insisting that Soviet troops be withdrawn from its territory before the end of this year; Hungary, in an extreme case, is allowing for a withdrawal next year. A timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet and American troops from European countries could be coordinated in Vienna. If we add to this the process of rapprochement between the two German states, we see that the problem is indeed complicated and desperately requires a deliberate course of action.

Baker Meets With Government, Other Leaders

European Security Discussed

LD0602221590 Prague CTK in English 1845 GMT 6 Feb 90

[text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received here today U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

During more than 90-minute intensive talks, they discussed a whole spectrum of problems concerning the future of Europe and the role that can be played by Czechoslovakia and the United States in the process of European cooperation and security.

Talks With Cardinal Tomasek

LD0602221890 Prague CTK In English 1741 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker holds talks today with Archbishop of Prague and Primate of Bohemia Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek.

At his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, Archbishop of Prague and Primate of Bohemia Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek expressed gratitude to the U.S. Administration for consistency that it asserted through visits of its ambassadors to the Prague Archbishopric.

He emphasized that doing this at the time of very limited possibilities, the U.S. administration expressed its solidarity with believers of Czechoslovakia, who, under very difficult conditions, understood well this noble gesture and accepted it as support and encouragement.

Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek described the visit of James Baker as great honour to his personality and all believers in Czechoslovakia as well.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that he very much appreciates his reception by Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek as his life-long struggle for human rights is remarkable also because he did not fight only for the rights of believers but of all people.

James Baker highly appreciated the present situation in Czechoslovakia that arose from the "velvet" revolution. It was its non-violent form that made a great impression on the American public.

Sees Civic Forum Representatives

LD0602222490 Prague CTK in English 1930 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker met representatives of the Civic Forum Initiative in the residence of U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Shirley Temple-Black.

The U.S. ambassador gave a reception to honour James Baker, which was attended by President Vaclav Havel,

Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, Premier Marian Calfa and other officials.

Lays Wreath in Prague

LD0702110290 Prague CTK in English 0914 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 7 (CTK)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker today laid a wreath at the St. Wenceslas Statue at Wenceslas Square here with a ribbon in Czechoslovak national colours and with the inscription "from American people".

Hundreds of Prague residents welcomed the U.S. guest at the place inseparably linked with the new history of the Czechoslovak nations and their struggle for freedom, democracy and independence. James Baker greeted some of the onlookers and spoke with them shortly.

The U.S. official was accompanied by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier. Also present was U.S. Ambassador Czechoslovakia Shirley Temple Black.

Briefing Reviews Talks

LD0702094990 Prague CTK in English 0759 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker discussed here yesterday economic cooperation between the two countries, stands on proposals for the unification of Germany, reduction of the Soviet and American units of Europe and problems of European cooperation, a high-ranking official of the U.S. State Department told journalists here last night.

James Baker said that the USA has been supporting the idea of German unification for 40 years and rejected the recent proposal by GDR Premier Hans Modrow who said that unified Germany should be neutral.

As regards Czechoslovak-American cooperation the U.S. State Department official stressed that President Havel has not asked for any economic assistance.

Vaclav Havel and James Baker spoke about the reduction of conventional forces in Europe. President Havel pointed out that it is a strong wish of the Czechoslovak public that the Soviet units leave Czechoslovak as soon as possible and stressed that he wants to deal with this question during his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev. Vaclav Havel informed the U.S. guest that Czechoslovakia discusses not only the withdrawal of Soviet troops from its territory but also prepares the reduction of the number of its own soldiers. He confirmed that Czechoslovakia will gradually decrease its arms exports and intends to suspend it completely in the future, the U.S. State Department official underlined.

According to him Vaclav Havel and James Baker said during their talks that American units will still remain in Europe. In connection with the planned reduction of the Soviet units in Central European countries the Czechoslovak president said that it would be beneficial to reduce the state of U.S. troops in Europe too. Vaclav Havel said that the dissolution of military blocs is a long-term aim which can be reached only after the creation of a new security system in Europe. James Baker pointed out that NATO will preserve its significance not only as a military but also a political grouping, the high ranking official of the U.S. State Department told journalists here yesterday.

Departs for Moscow

LD0702132790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker ended his official visit to Czechoslovakia today. Shortly after midday he departed with his entourage for Moscow. He was seen off at Ruzyne Airport by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and other officials.

Debate Featured Locally on VOA Radiobridge

LD0602175190 Prague CTK in English 1433 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—A radiobridge between Czechoslovak Radio and the U.S. station Voice of America was broadcast "live" for the first time on the Czechoslovakia station today.

U.S. political scientist Madelaine Albright of Georgetown University in Washington and Czechoslovak philosopher and political scientist Martin Palous, representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, held a one-hour debate on the present situation in Czechoslovakia. They exchanged views on the Czechoslovak possibilities to influence developments in Europe by its initiatives, dealt with the situation and development in Central Europe and the U.S. response to this development. They also considered possibilities and forms of cooperation between the United States and Czechoslovakia and the USA and other Central European countries. At the end of the broadcasting, Madelaine Albright answered questions of Czechoslovak Radio listeners.

Czechoslovak Radio and the Voice of America have agreed to focus their next radiobridge on economic issues.

Komarek, Dubcek Receive Western Businessmen

LD2901193690 Prague CTK in English 1807 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak first Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek received here today a group of American and Canadian businessmen, led by Chairman of the Canadian Investment Council Andrew Sarlos, currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia.

Also present was Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Vladimir

Dlouhy who told journalists that the talks were very interesting. Businessmen from the USA and Canada were interested in the conditions for business activities and discussed concrete possibilities of cooperation in a number of spheres, including nuclear energy, trade and tourism, he stressed, and pointed out the interesting offer to establish in Czechoslovakia a branch of a Budapest-based private bank of these businessmen which would start its activities soon.

"We have arrived here with some concrete ideas. Our group of businessmen has been working on the creation of a society for the development of Central Europe which should be based in Prague and which would be active besides Czechoslovakia above all in Hungary," Chairman of the Canadian Investment Bank Andrew Sarlos told journalists.

[Prague CTK in English at 1847 GMT on 29 January in a Prague-datelined report adds: "Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek received here today a group of American and Canadian businessmen, currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia.

["Czechoslovakia wants to enable the young generation to learn a modern style of business activities, Alexander Dubcek told the Canadian and American businessmen. "We must be a reliable partner." He pointed out.

["The guests said that they are interested in commercial activities in Czechoslovakia which would support inter alia the development of tourism and the building of hotels and shopping centres in Czechoslovakia."]

'Extensive Explosion' at Soviet Military Base

LD0702094390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Citizens of the Stare Oldruvky village and other villages in the Vitkov and Budisov area in the Nizky Jesenik have had a dramatic night. Frantisek Tvrz telephoned us from the area:

[Begin Tvrz recording] A powerful explosion with a follow-up pressure wave—something the likes of which no one here remembers—frightened children and adults alike yesterday evening. It shattered shop windows and windows in houses and agricultural premises. From the site of the explosion—which is in the Libava military area occupied by Soviet troops—a yellow-orange cloud soon rose toward the sky. According to eyewitnesses, the cloud formed a mushroom shape, from which ash starting falling on the surrounding area and the village. The pressure wave was also noticed by citizens in villages further from the area. Fire fighting units from Vitkov were sent to the accident site where the forest started burning. But according to established regulations, they did not directly enter the Soviet military area. The vehicles had to stop at the outskirts of the Hadinka settlement. The forest fire could be seen by citizens long into the night.

Shortly after the explosion, security men arrived in Stare Oldruvky and our Army experts who were called at night collected ash samples. According to the operation officer of the fire-fighting corp regional unit, the Civil Defense headquarters was immediately informed about the incident. Today's information from the National Committee in Budisov on the results of the analysis—the ash is not radioactive and does not contain harmful chemicals. [end recording]

Caused by Ammunition Liquidation

LD0702135290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] As we have already reported, yesterday evening there was an explosion in the military training zone in Libava. We asked Colonel Stanislav Pohorel, press spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense, for more details:

[Begin Pohorel recording] I am authorized to announce that on 6 February 1990 at 1625, in the military training zone in Libava, during a planned liquidation of Soviet Army artillery ammunition, an extensive explosion occured. There were no injuries or loss of life during the explosion. According to preliminary investigations carried out by experts of the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Soviet Army, the Public Security district department in Opava, and representatives of local organs, a gross violation of safety regulations when destroying the ammunition caused the incident. In this case—500 antitank grenades, 20 kg of artillery powder, and 12 kg of trinitrotuolen. Specialists in civil defense in the North Moravian Region, in cooperation with the district hygienist, have measured radiation levels with a negative result.

As a consequence of the explosion, windows were broken in the village of Stare Oldruvky. Representatives of the central group of Soviet troops through this channel publicly apologize to Czechoslovak citizens. In the course of the morning they also apologized to individuals who have suffered damage and adopted measures on the spot to remove and compensate the damage.

The investigation continues. [end recording]

Demonstrators Call for May Troop Withdrawal

LD0602214290 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—Over 30,000 people staged a demonstration in support of the demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia at Prague's Old Town Square here today.

The demonstration was called by the Municipal Committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy. Speakers expressed surprise that it took one single day for the Soviet troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and that they would need whole months to withdraw from this country.

Chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy Slavomir Klaban read an open letter to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which is to be handed to the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia. The letter approved by the demonstrators unanimously called for a complete and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops by May 31, 1990, and for all districts and buildings to be handed over in good order and the damage caused by the presence of the troops to be calculated and compensated.

Soviet troops invaded Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968, together with troops of Hungary, Poland, the GDR and Bulgaria to stop the reform movement in the country.

Foreign Ministry Rejects TASS View

LD0702145190 Prague CTK in English 1254 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 7 (CTK Correspondent)—"The Soviet public seems to be rather surprised and to certain extent even irritated by demonstrations taking place in Czechoslovakia these days. TASS reports from Prague characterized yesterday's demonstration as anti-Soviet. I am of the opinion that this is not a correct evaluation," Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky told Czechoslovak journalists here Wednesday.

He said that the Czechoslovak delegation, which opened the second round of talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia here today, understands to the full the indignation of Czechoslovak citizens concerning their deployment on Czechoslovak territory.

"I think that it is especially the Soviet side which bears a deal of responsibility for the demonstrations. Certain reluctance in solving the extremely important question concerning mutual relations between the two countries, has by right aroused nervousness of the Czechoslovak public. There is no need to be surprised at it, as much time has been wasted. The Soviet troops could have already been on their way home. The questions concerning the complicated technical and social affairs could have been solved and the society could have lived more quietly," Lubos Dobrovsky said.

"I absolutely reject the TASS formulations. They are distorting, trying to sow the seeds of misunderstanding between our two nations. They do not serve the resumption of friendly contacts which is the aim of our activities here. If we reach the withdrawal of Soviet troops, we will resume the possibility of normalizing Czechoslovak-Soviet relations which could be friendly in our opinion," the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

He underlined that the delegation will consistently and responsibly fulfil the tasks given to it by the Czechoslovak Government. It will resolutely push through the demands formulated in the first round of the talks, i.e. to finish the withdrawal of Soviet troops by the end of 1990 with respect to the fact that the majority of them will leave by the free elections. "May 15, 1990 remains the fundamental date," Lubos Dobrovsky stressed.

Second Round of Talks on Troop Pullout Starts

LD0702132890 Prague CTK in English 1146 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 7 (CTK correspondent)—The second round of negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of Czechoslovakia started here today.

The Czechoslovak delegation is led by Deputy Foreign Minister Evzen Vacek, the Soviet delegation by Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov. They will deal with a whole complex of questions connected with the stay and withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the Czechoslovak territory, as well as with consequences of their 22- year long stay, including compensation for the damage, financial settlement and the question of property rights.

Spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Lubos Dobrovsky has told CTK that a significant agreement was reached already during the negotiations in Prague in January. The Soviet delegation said that its aim is also the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, which results from the evaluation of the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia by the present Soviet leadership.

Czechoslovakia has suggested a term for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops—the end of this year—and its timetable. It has also submitted to the Soviet side a proposal for a new statute of these troops till their definitive withdrawal as Czechoslovakia considers the 1968 treaty on their temporary deployment invalid, Lubos Dobrovsky stressed.

The aim of the second round is to agree upon a term of the start of the withdrawal, its circumstances and to solve technical problems, Dobrovsky said and pointed out that the Soviet Union will face social and humanitarian difficulties in connection with the withdrawal. "We are of the opinion that the deadline till the end of this year provides the Soviet side with the possibility to solve these questions", Lubos Dobrovsky said.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement

LD0702133990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Statement by Foreign Ministry press spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky—in Czech, recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Our people also link with the year 1990 other hopes and convictions—that all Soviet troops will leave our country. Further Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on this issue started in Moscow this morning. Shortly before the talks started, Lubos Dobrovsky, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry press spokesman, made the following statement:

[Begin recording, Dobrovsky] To start with I would like to stress that in the first round of talks an important agreement between our delegation has already been reached. The Soviet delegation said that their goal, just like ours, is to reach a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory. This is obvious from the attitude of the Soviet Government to the entry of troops in August more than 22 years ago [as heard]. They have made it quite clear that this entry of troops was not only a political mistake but also a significant violation of international law. It is therefore obvious that the Soviet Government, just like our government, is interested in the withdrawal of these troops.

Unfortunately, a number of complex technical problems are connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. The Soviet side lists a number of social and humanitarian problems. I must stress that even when our delegation was preparing for talks on the withdrawal of the troops, we took into account these humanitarian and social questions connected, for example, with Soviet officers; children completing their schooling, and also questions connected with a number of complex problems such as the accommodation of Soviet troops after their return. That is why we have set the withdrawal date for so late, for the end of 1990. Technically, as our experts—both transport and military—have calculated, the withdrawal could be carried out sooner.

I would now like to mention one very important fact: It seems the Soviet public is somewhat surprised and to a certain extent even alarmed by demonstrations which have and are taking place in Czechoslovakia. The latest was yesterday. A TASS report from Prague even characterizes yesterday's demonstration as anti-Soviet. I think that this is an incorrect assessment.

Our delegation fully understands the reasons which prompt Czechoslovak citizens to express their dissatisfaction with Soviet troops' remaining on our territory. I would like to stress that all of us in the delegation are aware of our responsibility. We will very consistently carry out the task entrusted to us by our government and resolutely insist on those requirements we have already voiced in the first round of talks. This means that we would like to achieve a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops by 1990. The first and decisive section of the Soviet military power should be pulled out from Czechoslovakia by the beginning of the elections. But 15 May is, of course, a basic timeframe.

Once again, as far the aforementioned demonstration is concerned, I think that it is first and foremost the Soviet side which is to a certain degree responsible for its occurrence. The hesitation in tackling this extremely important question in our mutual relations, this hesitation of the Soviet side, rouses nervosness among the Czechoslovak public. And no wonder. After all, a lot of time has already been wasted in this respect. The Soviet troops could have already been on their way home. The questions on complicated technical and social matters could have been resolved and society could have lived a more peaceful life.

I would like to use this opportunity to say that I resolutely reject the allegations of the TASS report. They are distorting and create causes for misunderstanding between our two countries. This kind of reporting does not serve the renewal of friendly relations betwen our countries—which is, in fact, the purpose and objective of our work here. By achieving the withdrawal of Soviet troops, we will renew opportunities for normalizing Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, which we would like to see as friendly relations.

GDR's Hans Modrow Arrives for Working Visit

LD0602173190 Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—Premier of the German Democratic Republic Hans Modrow arrived here today for a half-day working visit at the invitation of his Czechoslovak counterpart Marian Calfa.

He is accompanied by Minister of Engineering and Chairman of the GDR part of the Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between Czechoslovakia and the GDR Hans Joachim Lauck, Ministers Tatjana Bohm and Wolfgang Ullmann and other officials.

Shortly after the arrival of the GDR guests, the two sides started their talks.

To Discuss Europe, Cooperation

LD0602141190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1318 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow arrived in Prague today at the head of a government delegation for negotiations with his Czechoslovak counterpart Marian Calfa.

Modrow, who is also to have meetings with President Vaclav Havel and Parliamentary President Alexander Dubcek, aims to explain his plan for German unity in the framework of overall European interests and discuss possibilities for further economic cooperation between the two states.

Havel, Calfa, Dubcek Talk With Modrow

LD0602232190 Prague CTK in English 2108 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow informed Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel here today of the current social changes in the German Democratic Republic and of the political situation before the elections due to take place on March 18.

Later today, Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa and his GDR counterpart Hans Modrow stressed in a

press release that their talks were very intensive and were rid of usual courtesy protocol.

They agreed that the preservation and strengthening of peace in Europe continues to be the most important item of joint work. They intend to preserve the good results achieved in the economy and scientific-technological cooperation also in new conditions that have occurred in Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic and develop them by means of new methods. This concerns all spheres of social and economic life, including ecology, tourism and cultural and educational relations.

Marian Calfa and Hans Modrow agreed on the establishment of working groups in three spheres: joint investments, prices and tourism. These working groups will start to function immediately.

During the talks, Marian Calfa stressed the idea of mutual cooperation in environmental protection, especially as regards the quality of the atmosphere in the north Bohemian region. Attention was also paid to the questions of the quality of life of the people.

At a press conference here today, head of the Press Department of the Czechoslovak Government Office Zbynek Fiala said that the Czechoslovak and GDR delegations proceed during their debate on tourism from the new situation which has arisen in Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic after the opening of the borders.

Zbynek Fiala said that most projects were considered also by the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria. He pointed for instance to the possibilities of tourist routes from Hamburg to Vienna, the travelling along the Elbe, etc. "There is an effort to prepare these projects already for this year's tourist season", he added.

According to the press spokesman, Hans Modrow stated that cooperation based on an agreement between the two German states should not prevent contacts between the GDR and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. He also said that he will inform Czechoslovakia through diplomatic channels of all talks between the two German states. This also concerns negotiations on the questions of the reunification of Germany.

Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek informed Hans Modrow and his entourage of the present political situation and the tasks of the Czechoslovak parliament.

Hans Modrow explained the situation in the German Democratic Republic at the time before the elections called for March 18.

Both representatives supported the necessity of further extension of mutual cooperation and relations in all spheres.

In the evening, Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa gave a dinner in honour of the GDR guest. Present were members of Hans Modrow's entourage and Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak and other personalities.

Modrow, Calfa Hold News Conference

LD0602192690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1809 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague (ADN)—There was agreement during the talks between the government heads of the GDR and the CSSR, Hans Modrow and Marian Calfa, held on 6 February in Prague, that the securing of peace remains the most important task. It was said at a subsequent news conference that both sides would proceed from the position that all processes on the European Continent, including a possible German unification, should take place taking the interests of other nations into account.

During the discussion of economic issues, the will for constant continuation of cooperation was underlined by government delegations. Revolutionary processes are taking place in both countries which are leading to a democratization of social life, Modrow said. New political parties and groupings are becoming active. This is not least manifested in the composition of his delegation, to which Tatjana Boehm and Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann belong.

Tatjana Boehm from the Independent Women's Association and Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann from Democracy Now were only confirmed as ministers on Monday [5 February].

Calfa stated that he had mentioned a revising of the treaty system to date in the area of economic cooperation. Hitherto, the governments had worked out the plans and then commissioned the enterprises to fulfill them. Now the governments should only create the relevant framework conditions for the independent cooperation of the enterprises. The formation of bilateral commissions on questions of joint investments and price setting is on the agenda.

The government heads announced improvements in tourism for both countries. A joint tourism working group has been formed for this which is due to work out concrete measures immediately. Environmental protection is also part of raising the quality of life, Calfa underlined. The CSSR is particularly interested in an effective cooperation to improve air quality in northern Bohemia.

Following the talk with Marian Calfa, Hans Modrow was received by CSSR President Vaclav Havel.

A meeting with the chairman of the Federal Assembly of the CSSR, Alexander Dubcek, is planned this evening.

Modrow Briefs Press on Talks With Havel

LD0602205990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1900 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague (ADN)—CSSR President Vaclav Havel has described the plan presented by GDR Government head Hans Modrow concerning the unity of Germany as realistic. Modrow briefed journalists on this following his talk with Havel on Tuesday in Prague. Havel had also spoken about the plan with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. Different standpoints had been expressed.

Modrow said that he is in agreement with Havel that a Helsinki II is now urgently required in order to tackle these problems. The United States and Canada would also be incorporated in this and everyone would have the opportunity to explain his positions.

In response to a question on the tempo of a German unification, Modrow said that a correct pace should be adopted so that the European peoples see that their security is preserved. Havel has agreed to this.

The CSSR president stressed that Czechoslovakia is interested in a peaceful life in its neighboring state. It desires measures against extremist phenomena, including against attempts by the Republicans to become active in the GDR as well. The antifascist character, which has developed in the GDR, should be preserved.

Modrow Ends Talks, Departs

LD0602232290 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—Premier of the German Democratic Republic Hans Modrow and his entourage ended thier visit to Czechoslovakia tonight and left for home.

Komarek Outlines Government Economic Policy

LD0602184790 Prague CTK in English 1734 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek stressed here today the necessity of continuous transition towards the market economy in Czechoslovakia, which is linked with a necessary tax reform, the liberalization of prices and stopping the formation of prices by the state.

At a press conference for Czechoslovak and foreign journalists here today, Valtr Komarek estimated the transition towards the market economy in Czechoslovakia to last two to three years.

"We shall not go along the road of therapy by shock, we shall not go along the road of unilateral impacts on the population without a delicate social policy," Valtr Komarek stressed.

He pointed out that the government prepares such measures that would create conditions for enterprises, private entrepreneurs and foreign shareholders corresponding with the demands of the openness of the Czechoslovak economy and its dynamic incorporation into the international division of labour.

That is why the government has prepared an amendment to the law on state enterprise that provides for the demonopolization and decentralization to that several hundred enterprises may be changed into thousands of units that will be put into competition market relations.

Also prepared are new laws: On joint-stock companies and private enterprise, they are to be discussed in the Czechoslovak Parliament by the end of March and then become decisive measures for the development of the Czechoslovak economy facilitating quick reaction to international conditions and quick innovation of their own structure.

In Valtr Komarek's opinion, this means to carry out a fundamental modernization of the Czechoslovak industry within four to seven years. Even with implementing the new measures, the Czechoslovak economy should preserve a five to six per cent annual dynamic growth.

Czechoslovakia does not intend to fall in debts but in the framework of necessary structural changes, to efficiently invest by means of foreign capital. [sentence as received] It need not take such monetary measures as for instance Poland as the Czechoslovak economy does not suffer from inflation, Valtr Komarek said.

The changes in the structure will give rise to a new state on the market of labour force. The purposeful requalification of the working people is planned and in the next three years, about one million people are to be transferred into the sphere of services, mainly for the benefit of tourism.

Valtr Komarek pointed out the irreversibility of cooperation with the Soviet Union, which Czechoslovakia must further develop and extend.

Czechoslovakia will need Soviet natural gas, oil and other raw materials. The Soviet market is advantageous for Czechoslovakia and it wants economic relations to be advantageous also for Soviet partners.

"I am convinced that Czechoslovak enterprises will find new export and import funds in these relations so that our cooperation may have lasting prospects," Valtr Komarek said.

On the other hand, he stressed that Czechoslovakia's foreign trade must go along the road of export expansion to the West. The present amount of Czechoslovak export of 1,400 dollars per capita and year is to change in the next five years to over 5,000 dollars.

Komarek's News Conference on Economy Reported

LD0602132890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] [Jana Havligerova] Alternative scenarios of a reform—this could be a title of today's press conference with Valtr Komarek, first deputy federal premier. A telephone dispatch by (Katerina Hrochova) from Hotel Forum in Prague gives more details about its content.

[Hrochova] Detailed discussions of not only correspondents but also of invited guests—specialists from the Economic Forum and students from the High School of Economics—revolved around the government's specific economic program for the near future. This is a program which is to ensure Czechoslovakia's switch toward a market economy without unacceptable social upheavals, not along the path of shock but along the path of gradual qualitative changes. The program proceeds first of all from the conception which sees the market not as an end in itself but as a means to raise the level of our economy.

Valtr Komarek, first deputy federal premier, formulated four basic tasks which should ensure this transfer. These are: the creation of a powerful competitive environment in which instead of several hundred enterprises thousands of independent units would come into being after considerable decentralization. This is, of course, linked with opening our economy to the world, with price and currency reform, liberalization of prices, tax reform, and with the factor which is of no lesser importance: the forming of new components of the market—that is, the money, joint-stock, foreign currency, labor, and investments market.

The interest of foreign correspondents naturally focused on questions of taxation and pricing. We learned, for example, that the state provided a food subsidy of 35,000 million korunas, which should be reduced to a minimum in the future, and that the structural changes will probably be accompanied by approximately a two percent overall unemployment.

The following legal amendments are the reflection of the economic changes: the law on state enterprise, the law on joint-stock companies, and the law on private enterprise, which the Federal Government is ready to discuss.

Komarek Addresses Economic Forum in Davos

LD0202225590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Valtr Komarek, first deputy premier of the Federal Government, spoke at the world economic forum in Davos about the economic and political situation in Czechoslovakia.

He stressed that the move from a totalitarian regime to democracy in Czechoslovakia is irreversible. He pointed out two big potential sources of danger: our own mistakes which we can commit and lack of interest by highly developed countries.

Valtr Komarek confirmed that Czechoslovakia still has an opportunity to carry out the switch to market economy without the shocks that some of its neighbors had experienced.

Speaking about the relationship to the integration processes in Europe, Mr Komarek stressed that Czechoslovakia is not so much concerned about being accepted as a member of individual structures as about the possibility of trading without too many customs restrictions.

Klaus Interviewed on Paris European Bank Talks

AU2301120190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20 Jan 90 p 7

[Interview with Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, by Jindrich Stepanek; in Prague, date not given: "We Managed To Differentiate Ourselves"]

[Text] This week V. Klaus, CSSR finance minister, participated in talks held in Paris on the establishment of a European Bank for renewal and development. After he returned home, we asked him what in particular the establishment of such a bank will mean for us:

[Klaus] "If we are to be part of the foundation protocol, then we will have to deposit some money. Of course, much less than we will later receive. Thus, we will not do too badly from this. The bank is oriented exclusively toward Central and East Europe. Its main concept is to help in the transition of these economies from the system to date to a market economy. The fundamental concept, therefore, is maximum support for privatization and the establishment of a private sector—of course, in a competitive environment. The bank is being established at the initiative of the French president. He invited representatives from 34 of the world's most important countries to Europe; this is considered to be the most significant international economic initiative since 1944 when the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were founded in the United States. Other talks will take place after those held in Paris, and we hope that at the end of March all the documents will be signed and the bank will begin to operate."

[Stepanek] What kind of proposals did our delegation come up with in Paris?

[Klaus] "The founders are now discussing what kind of funds the bank will have, how it will be organized, where it will be situated, what kind of lending practices it will have, to whom it will provide loans and under what conditions, and so on. These are very complicated deliberations. I think during them we played a role that suited us, that we presented our capabilities very well, and that we managed to differentiate ourselves from some of the other countries."

[Stepanek] In Paris you proposed that the bank's headquarters should be in Prague. How did you fare with this proposal?

[Klaus] "I said that I have several letters in my briefcase from European Community governments asking Czechoslovakia to recommend their country as the headquarters for the bank. So I said that since I did not know who to support, the most logical solution would be to chose a completely different country. I also said that Prague is at the center of Europe. This aroused a great deal of interest. I then realized that this is not out of the question. I do not have to emphasize what an advertisement this would be for us...."

Minister Wants Gabcikovo Project Completed

LD0702220590 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Twelve billion korunas have been invested in the Gabcikovo water project. Work on the canal, the locks, and the power station is being completed. The project is among constructions which attract the most attention. Today Frantisek Pinc, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fuels and power minister, stopped here. We asked him for his viewpoint on this matter:

[Begin Pinc recording in Czech] Well, on the basis of what I have seen here today I think that it is unequivocally necessary to complete this water project, since work has gone so far and so much has been invested in it—our energy resources—because we are of course only a part of this large water project. I believe that it is necessary to complete this affair. Unfortunately the construction, or the course of construction, has been interrupted so seriously that despite the fact that the construction work here will take place according to the timetable set earlier, it will not be possible to test the machinery and put it into operation as it is completed because the necessary water level will not be available. This is a great shame.

We spoke with Minister Vesely [Slovak minister of forestry, water economy, and the woodworking industry] and it looks as if there will be about a one to one-and-a-half year delay in this affair. There will be great losses, but despite this I think it is vital to complete this, and that is what I will be working for in the government. [end recording]

Havel Adviser Denies Report on Surveillance

AU3101141390

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 29 January on page 1 carries a 600-word interview with Milan Knazko, adviser of President Vaclav Havel, by Oliver Brunovsky, entitled: "M. Knazko: I Deny." In the interview, which was conducted in Bratislava on 28 January, Knazko denies statements attributed to him by the Austrian newspaper NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG on the continued operation of the secret police in Czechoslovakia. Knazko says, inter alia: "I do not remember having granted such an interview. I have never talked about the situation in the secret police and have never complained to anyone that I feel endangered, let alone to the NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG." Knazko also denies the Austrian daily's remarks about his alleged criticism of the Slovak Government and about the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] leadership knowing his every step. Knazko claims that he has never said anything of the sort. Besides, he adds, the political activity of the Public Against Violence movement, which Knazko represents, is "public and we make an effort to inform not only CPCZ representatives but everyone about our every step."

CPCZ Executive Meets; Fojtik, Indra Expelled

AU0702094790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czechdd 29 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

["(ZR)"-signed report: "The Main Task—Preparation for the Elections"]

[Text] Prague—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Executive Committee held a meeting in Prague on 27 January. It approved the party leadership's course of action to date since the January CPCZ Central Committee session aimed at its renewal and transformation into a modern left-wing party.

It considered the current political situation. It stated that political tension—which may be alleviated by thorough implementation of a policy of national understanding, by an honest dialogue, and by adherence to the agreements concluded by the most important political forces—still lingers in society. In this connection, the Executive Committee approved the course of action adopted by CPCZ representatives during the roundtable negotiations; an expression of this is the prepared reconstruction of the most senior representative bodies in harmony with the appropriate laws.

The Executive Committee recommended O. Cap, V. Tolar, P. Kanis, and J. Olej as CPCZ candidates to supplement the Federal Assembly. At the same time, it spoke out against attempts to cast doubt on the political agreements that have been reached; the purpose of these agreements is to establish, prior to the free elections, a Federal Assembly that by its composition will correspond to the real distribution of political forces in the country.

It approved a draft plan of action for founding a CPCZ territorial organization in the Czech Socialist Republic. This will be submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee for discussion on 17 February.

While discussing preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, the Executive Committee considered suggestions and proposals from the membership base and, on the basis of these, decided to recommend to the CPCZ Central Committee that the scheduled party congress be convened after the parliamentary elections.

The Executive Committee specified the main task of all Communists at the moment as being preparations for the elections. First and foremost, this means drafting—after an extensive internal party discussion—an election program and responsibly approaching the selection and preparation of CPCZ candidates.

The Executive Committee rejected the accusations made recently in connection with reports about the alleged preparation of a coup. The CPCZ Central Committee Executive Committee emphatically and utterly opposes all those who, by using violence or other means, would like to whip up unrest and fear in our society. At the same time, it condemns the provocation and dissemination of groundless and alarming reports among the people.

Members of the Executive Committee voiced their support for the activation of National Front social organizations' activity and called upon Communists to participate in this while fully respecting the independence and specific nature of each organization. Views were expressed in the discussion that although a National Front-type organizational and coordination platform continues to be useful, it will doubtless be necessary to reconstruct it after the elections in view of the new political situation.

The Executive Committee discussed the activity of CPCZ Central Committee commissions and voiced its recommendations for their further work.

On the basis of conclusions reached by a CPCZ Central Committee commission, it recommended that the Central Committee expel from the party the following members of the former party leadership: J. Fojtik, A. Indra, and J. Kempny. At the same time, it expressed its conviction that the commission's overall report will be submitted to the next CPCZ Central Committee session.

In connection with M. Calfa's resignation from the CPCZ, the Executive Committee fully identified with the position adopted by the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee at its session on 20 January.

At the end of its session, the CPCZ Central Committee Executive Committee adopted a position on the main principles of the law under preparation on elections to the Federal Assembly.

It also discussed and approved some other cadre and organizational measures.

Adamec Attends Prague District Committee Meeting

AU0602112790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[Vaclav Pergl report: "Our Aims in the Elections"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—Two important issues were raised on Friday [2 February] at a meeting between Presidium members of the party district committees in Prague 1-10 and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] leadership: Communists' topical tasks in Prague and preparing for the elections.

As Comrade Ladislav Adamec said, 20-30 percent of the 150,000 Communists in Prague have, so far, handed in their party cards. Despite this, the party's organization is strong. But it is necessary to speedily complete organizational changes. For example, the smooth transition of Communists from workplaces to street organizations and clubs is not proving completely successful everywhere. More specific help from district committees is essential in this very sphere.

The CPCZ, said Comrade Adamec, supports the establishment of a city-wide party center. Its task would not be to oversee the district committees, but to coordinate the district organizations' activity in resolving social and political tasks and in setting up sections—for example, for culture, health care, ecology, and so on. The center would be an equal partner at roundtable talks when all-Prague problems are being dealt with.

During the elections, our main task is to ensure that the party receives votes not only from its members, but also from as many as possible of those who today are leaving the CPCZ and from sympathizers who do not wish one monopoly and subjectivism to be replaced by another.

In an in-depth discussion, the various opinions of Communists about constituting a republican party organization in the Czech Socialist Republic, about changing the CPCZ's name, and about methods of working among the public were debated. The party is still too much wrapped up in itself and in the past which, in many instances, deprives it of strength for greater activity and initiative. During the elections, the success of which is being determined right now, such an approach would not correspond to party traditions or to its current mission. Therefore, accelerated change is necessary and this requires a more active course of action from every Communist.

Czech National Council Appoints New Premier

LD0602155590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] The Czech National Council [CNC] deputies met in Prague today for their 20th meeting in this election period. Lubos Lidicky reports on the proceedings:

[Lidicky] As you can perhaps hear, the 20th CNC meeting has just finished. The main point on its agenda was the election of new CNC deputies to vacant posts. Altogether 45 Communist deputies and one independent have resigned, 14 deputies have been recalled by the Czechoslovak Communist Party and four by the Czechoslovak People's Party. Fifty-one independent deputies, 7 members of the Czechoslovak People's Party, three

from the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and three Communists were elected to the 64 vacant deputies' seats. Thus the CNC once again has 200 deputies. It was they who added new members to the Presidium and who elected CNC deputy chairmen in a secret ballot.

The CNC Presidium met during the lunch break in order to appoint a new chairman of the Czech Government to replace Frantisek Pitra, who asked to be released from this post. It also accepted the resignation of Miroslav Toman, its first deputy chairman. It appointed Petr Pithart, hitherto the spokesman of the Civic Forum Coordination Center, as the new Czech premier. He said in his first address to deputies:

[Begin Pithar voice recording] I firmly believe that the Czech Government will be a strong partner of the Federal Government. We will act in a way that will remind citizens in Bohemia and Moravia that the Czech state is something real and not a faded brand name of something which has disappeared long ago or an empty form of something which is deciding whether to be or not to be. We will also be a partner for the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic and I promise that we will observe fair play. The Czech government will face tasks that are not easy—to express it at its most optimistic. Many of those who congratulated me today also comiserated with me.

I do not see it so black, however. If we govern so that people can understand, in front of the eyes of both the Czech and Moravian public, and if we govern justly, then I believe we shall be able to carry out many necessary unpopular measures. I stress again, we must carry them out fairly. I have pledged this to the Civic Forum which proposed me for the post of premier.

And one more remark at the end: Let us try to govern sometimes with a smile, too. There has been more than enough seriousness behind which there was nothing but emptiness in this country.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen deputies! Be our strict but also fair critics, I ask you—constructive critics! Thank you for your trust. [applause] [end recording]

So much for Petr Pithart, new premier of the Czech Government. The CNC Presidium also appointed two new first deputy chairmen—(Frantiesek Vlasak), who is also chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development, and (Antonin Hrazdira). It also appointed (Jitka Zetkova) as a new minister and chairman of the People's Control Committee. The new premier, deputy premiers, and minister took the oath prescribed by the Constitution.

Monetary Union With FRG Proposed

LD0602125990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1156 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Davos (ADN)—An immediate monetary policy program for the GDR was presented to the press in Davos today on the sidelines of the 20th world economic forum by Wolfgang Berghofer, mayor of Dresden, and Otmar Franz, chairman of the European Parliament interparty working group on a European currency. The program, which envisions monetary union with the FRG, was worked out over the past fews days in Davos by a working group made up of GDR and FRG participants in the symposium.

In this program, a convertible currency is seen as the basis for economic upturn in the GDR. A firm exchange rate to the Deutsche mark should be achieved as quickly as possible through a monetary union with the FRG. This means that monetary sovereignty and part of the sovereignty of the GDR will be abandoned. The program also envisions a general freeing of prices. The sale of state property, dwellings, and land should follow. A further step envisioned is an adaption of the GDR banking system to match that of the FRG.

Berghofer told journalists that although the proposed route is not in line with textbook theory, the working group wants to give a signal because the problems in the GDR are worsening daily, and negative consequences for the FRG are foreseeable.

'Text' of Proposal

LD0602174490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1252 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Davos (ADN)—The text of the program presented in Davos by the representatives of the GDR and of the FRG, Wolfgang Berghofer and Otmar Franz, respectively, is as follows:

All reform efforts in the GDR are doomed to failure without a functioning monetary and credit system. The complete collapse of the economy can be avoided and an economic upturn created only if a stable, convertible currency becomes the basis for the social market economy in the GDR.

With a fully convertible currency, all commodities could be bought without restrictions because sufficient consumer goods would be imported with the proceeds. The new freedom of travel would come into effect. The feared process of "sellout" would not transpire. A convertible, stable currency is a prerequisite for greater capital inflow, for increased private investment from the Western industrialized nations.

The swiftest path would be to convert GDR marks to Deutsche marks at a fixed exchange rate, which would check hardship for pensioners and other small investors by means of a social package. An exchange rate of 4:1 is conceivable, where a basic sum could be exchanged at a ratio of 1:1. This monetary union would entail relinquishing the monetary sovereignty and part of the sovereignty of the GDR. The monetary policy would be made by the German Bundesbank. Thus the economic annexation of the GDR to the Federal Republic would be virtually complete. This currency exchange would remove the foreign exchange control. An inconceivable upswing in the GDR economy is to be expected.

The GDR will automatically be part of the European Monetary System with its constraint for policies of stabilization.

Linked to this are the following measures:

1. Reduction of the surplus money supply

With the currency adjustment, a part of the surplus money supply will be removed. The general freeing of prices, which will reveal the actual state of shortages, an extension of the supply of goods and the privatization of publicly owned enterprises, i.e. the sale of state property in enterprises, dwellings and lan,d and the freezing of their proceeds will considerably reduce the surplus money supply. A broadly based privatization linked to the freeing of prices will very quickly result in an increased supply of goods.

2. Reorganization of the banking system

The GDR banking system should be aligned to that of the Federal Republic, the legal foundations of which should be taken over. The foundation of private banks should be approved in order to develop an independent, private commercial banking system as quickly as possible. The same applies to savings banks and cooperative banks.

This proposed solution is a first important step toward the integration of the GDR in the European Community.

Spokesman Denies Currency Reform Planned

LD0602180290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1423 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer today denied assertions about a currency reform allegedly planned by Modrow's Cabinet, which were contained in a statement issued, also today, by the Green Party.

Meyer told ADN that neither Premier Hans Modrow—when addressing the People's Chamber yesterday—nor Deputy Premier Professor Christa Luft—when addressing the roundtable—had announced such a plan. On the contrary, Mrs. Luft stressed: "The government envisions no currency reform in the sense of a devaluation or a writing off of savings deposits."

Speculation and insinuation that the Modrow government plans to deprive the citizens of their savings through a devaluation only contributes to spreading insecurity, the spokesman added. In contrast, the policy

of the Modrow government is aimed at doing everything to secure the stability of the currency through economic and financial measures. [passage omitted]

Importance of Convertible Mark Stressed

AU0602134690 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 26 January 90 p 1

[Heiner Pachmann editorial: "Convertible by 1992?"]

[Text] Ultimately, it was somehow surprising what the GDR citizens could learn from Economics Minister Luft via Western media: The GDR wants to make its currency convertible by the year 1992. Even for 1990 the objective is to make the currency partly convertible. The extension of exchange possibilities between East marks and Deutsch marks for GDR citizens has been raised to the level of a short-term objective.

What began to appear in outlines last week with Luft's visit to Bonn, and what was subsequently continued with FRG Economics Minister Haussmann's visit to Berlin, has thus reached a new level: The government is no longer reluctant as far as economic reform is concerned, but is proceeding at high speed. Then suddenly concrete statements, and above all, statements that include certain deadlines, have emerged. Signals for FRG politicians and managers, but particularly also for the citizens, for those who stay here, and those who sit on their packed suitcases.

It does not matter that the proposal for the convertibility only exists in the form of a draft. The roundtable and the People's Chamber will have to discuss it anyway. However, what could still thwart these plans is any kind of new attempts to destabilize the economy. After all, an ailing national economy and convertibility exclude one another. Each strike, each additional resettler deals a blow against this reform project. Neither will disappear from our everyday life, but everybody ought to be aware of it. The GDR is treading a very thin line toward more democracy in its political system and a more liberal economy, for which the convertible GDR mark is indispensable.

Hard Currency Accounts for GDR Citizens

AU0602135090 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 27-28 Jan 90 p 3

[Jochen Knoblach report: "No Checks For Hard Currency Accounts"]

[Text] Those GDR citizens who want to save their foreign currency because it is not quite enough for the travel or purchase they dream about, can do so since 1 January. Many people have used this free service of the GDR State Bank. In the first half of this month alone, far more than 40,000 such accounts were opened.

The Berliners can use all city district branch offices of the Berlin Stadtkontor. We learned from its director in charge of payment transactions, Rolf Warnke, that every GDR citizen as well as institutions, associations, and parties in our country have the right to open such a foreign currency account. He adds that the exact regulations are contained in the Legal Gazette, Part I/No. 26, of 29 December 1989.

The Legal Gazette precisely lists the conditions and services. However, in practice, different methods have apparently been applied, because readers have told us that the forms for the necessary account agreements are not in line with the new regulation.

Rolf Warnke: "This was really the case in the first few days. However, since two weeks ago, all branch offices of the Berlin Stadtkontor have been in possession of the new account agreement forms. In the next few weeks—when the storm has subsided somewhat—the agreements concluded will be changed without reservation." He adds that, by the way, the Legal Gazette guarantees that the interest rates will be observed.

According to the Gazette, they are 2.5 percent per annum for call deposits. However, those who decide for a blocking period of one year, will get as much as 4 percent. However, this makes it is necessary for the saver to really remain firm and not to withdraw money from the "hard currency account" before the term expires.

Credit entries are made exclusively in Deutsch marks. Payments in other convertible currencies are consequently converted at the respective rates of the day.

Is it also possible to open a DM current account?

"Savings transactions are exclusively handled through cash. Thus checkbooks or so-called credit cards are not included in our bank's service. Nor has this been envisioned for the time being."

That rules out the possibility for a saver to overdraw his account. At any rate, this is an offer of the State Bank that must be welcomed, and those who are able to save rigorously will profit.

Lawyers Want Cases Against Ex-Officials Dropped

LD0602162890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1509 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Sixteen prominent advocates have addressed an appeal to the People's Chamber that the state prosecutor general be instructed to interrupt the current investigative proceedings against former party and state functionaries. Their resumption should only be ordered after the constitution of the new People's Chamber that emerges from the free elections and the creations of the preconditions for proceedings under the rule of law, according to the appeal to People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda from the advocates who are entrusted with the defense of those persons described as "bearing the main responsibility."

The advocates voice the view that at present no preconditions exist in the GDR for fair proceedings against the accused they represent corresponding to the principles of the rule of law.

Dr. Guenther Maleuda is also requested to instruct the state prosecutor general to examine strictly on legal criteria whether investigative custody is "essential" in those cases in which it is still ordered, and, in respect of those accused who are free, for the state to guarantee their protection and ensure their human dignity.

The petition, which has been passed to ADN, asks for understanding for this unusual step, which the signatories felt themselves required to take in order to fulfill their duty as defense advocates.

"We permit ourselves to go beyond our mandate to point out that in our opinion corresponding measures are also needed in all other proceedings that relate to the policy of the former party and state functionaries," the appeal says. "Justice can, may, and will only be heard if the preconditions for it are created."

The advocates cited as one of the reasons for their appeal the fact that—as the state prosecutor general said at the 15th session of the People's Chamber—law enforcement officers and state prosecutors are currently working in these proceedings "under the greatest physical and mental pressures." The justice minister has described the maintenance of a proper administration of justice as being increasingly endangered. Broad circles of public opinion, the state prosecutor general himself, and People's Chamber deputies have condemned the accused in advance. In the GDR, the principle of the division of power is not practiced, as a result of which deputies could exert influence on the judiciary.

Poll Shows Majority Support SPD, Reunification

LD0602203790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1956 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—If a People's Chamber election were to take place now, the Socialist Democratic Party [SPD] would achieve great success in the election. This emerges from a GDR-representative opinion poll by the Central Institute for Youth Research in Leipzig with the support of the Institute for Market Research. It was carrieed out for the second time among 1,000 citizens.

According to the poll results conveyed to ADN on Tuesday, at present, 80 percent of the citizens would vote. Of these, 54 percent would vote for the SPD, 12 percent for the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS], 11 percent for the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], four percent for the New Forum, and three percent for the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD]. All other parties and movements received less than three percent.

In comparison with the first representative opinion poll in November 1989, this signifies an enormous increase in votes for the SPD and a considerable loss of confidence in the PDS, a comment from the opinion researchers says.

About three-quarters of the citizens, namely 76 percent, polled advocate a unification of both German states, according to the poll. In November, 48 percent spoke in favor of it. Of the advocates of unification, 38 percent now support immediate unification and 43 percent oppose a swift process. Nineteen percent are still undecided.

At 62 percent, the number of those who intend to stay in any event in the GDR has decreased considerably. In November, there were still 84 percent who intended to do this. Five percent, as against one percent in the previous year, are considering emigration, according to the poll.

Hans Modrow, with 48 percent, is still at the head of the list of persons whom the population trust most. Also mentioned are Wolfgang Berghofer (18 percent), Ibrahim Boehme (16), Guenther Maleuda (five), and Kurt Masur (five).

Poll Supports Modrow

LD0602111190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1006 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Thirty-eight percent of 1,408 GDR citizens asked spoke in favor of Premier Hans Modrow (Party for Democratic Socialism) playing an important political role. This is shown in a representative survey commissioned by the (FRG) magazine QUICK from the Wickert Institute in Illereichen, which has been prereleased to ADN by the magazine. The question asked was: Whom would the GDR citizens be most pleased to see in an important political role? Thirty-three percent of those asked voted for the former SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] member Wolfgang Berghofer. Conductor Kurt Masur scored 11 percent and was in third place ahead of Social Democratic Party manager Ibrahim Boehme.

Asked about the absolute priority of their wishes, 63 percent of the GDR citizens asked named an economic upturn. Reunification, scoring 32 percent, was only in fifth place, following improved care for the elderly (40 percent), currency reform (34 percent), and German-German confederation (33 percent). The magazine's prerelease says that according to the Wickert Institute poll, 22 percent of those asked plan to move to the FRG in the event of a PDS election victory.

Carnations Worried About Early Elections

AU0602132290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "'The Carnations' Worried About Early Election Date"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Marxist party "The Carnations" has noted with great concern the intention to advance the People's Chamber elections to 18 March. A press release, which was sent to ADN, says: "The brief period involved is a rape of democracy. It is hardly realistic to think that a Peopole's Chamber, which is elected after a forcibly accelerated election campaign, will enjoy more trust among the population than the current one."

KPD To Contest People's Chamber Elections

LD0602175890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1620 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The KPD [Communist Party of Germany] will take part in the People's Chamber elections with its own candidates. It will pass its electoral program in Frankfurt/Oder on 16 to 18 February and nominate candidates for the constituencies. The party informed ADN on Tuesday about this in a press statement. [passage omitted]

SPD Applies for Membership in EC Federation

AU0602204990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 90 p 7

[ADN report: "GDR's SPD Applies for Membership in Federation of EC Social Democrats"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The GDR's Social Democratic Party [SPD] has applied for membership with observer status in the Federation of Social Democratic Parties of the EC. As the party noted in a press statement, which was disseminated in Bonn on Thursday [25 January], it has sent a corresponding letter to Guy Spitaels, president of the Federation of Social Democratic Parties in the EC, and has asked for the speedy granting of its application. The letter says that for the SPD members in the GDR, integration into the economic and political framework of the EC is of outstanding importance. The SPD wants to "enter into continuous dialogue" with its sister parties in the EC.

Youth Congress Held in Brandenburg 27 Jan

LD2701101890 Hamburg DPA in German 0844 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—the Free German Youth [FDJ] Congress for the funding of a new socialist youth association opened in Brandenburg this morning. Its aim is to effect the final move away from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany youth association, FDJ, the "party's militant reserve." About 2,000 delegates want to agree on a new name, discuss a program and constitution, and elect a leadership at the meeting, which is to last 2 days, ADN reports.

The new organization wanted to be seen as independent, democratic, antifascist, and politically left wing, and did not want to be subject to tutelage from any party or organization. [passage omitted]

Tuerkowsky Comments

LD2701185690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1310 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—The GDR youth organization that is to be newly constituted, and is to succeed the FDJ [Free German Youth], should retain the name FDJ, Frank Tuerkowsky, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, stressed. At today's FDJ Congress, dealing with the founding of a new youth association, held in Brandenburg (Potsdam Area), Tuerkowsky said that the association should make a radical break with the past, but it could not simply deny it. This past had mainly consisted of the FDJ being subsumed by the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. Through its claim to be the sole representative of all young people, and the obligation "to be the helper and fighting reserve of the party," the FDJ had lost respect among many young people as an extended arm of the SED and the state. The founding idea—a nonpartisan, antifascist, democratic and open youth movement in which members of differing political and social groups could be active—had only been upheld in the early years. Later, those who thought differently were excluded, and artists critical of the system censored, Frank Tuerkowsky cited as negative examples.

For this reason the congress has to make a fresh start in all respects. Departing from the claim to sole representation included independent work by the JUNGE WELT newspaper and publishing house. The new FDJ has to be open to various structures, such as grass-roots and interest groups, where the bulk of its work should take place. The most important thing is voluntary work.

Tuerkowski proposed to the congress that it pass a resolution on a new registration of members. He supported the creation of a national youth council, as well as youth councils at regional and local levels. They should cooperate on a basis of equality and partnership with other youth organizations and groups. The rights of young people must be secured together. It is not a matter of a policy of gifts to young people. He called for youth clubs and hostels to be secured by state subsidies so that the street did not remain the only place to meet.

With regard to 6 May, the FDJ should support youth interests being represented in parliament, and on this the FDJ should hold its own meetings. A legitimate representative of young people should attend the roundtable, with a right to speak. No social force should ignore young people. [passage omitted]

Youth Association Formed

LD2801134690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1220 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—In a runoff, the majority of the congress on Sunday decided in favor of the name "Free German Youth" [Freie Deutsche Jugend —FDJ] for the new socialist youth association. Of 1,554 people entitiled to vote, 840 were in favor. Seven hundred and fourteen delegates voted for the name "Socialist Youth Association" (SJV). Sisteen different names had been proposed.

The participants in the congress in Brandenburg (Potsdam Area) adopted by a great majority a new statute. It clearly defines the FDJ as a socialist youth association.

By repealing the old statute, the organization, following the radical break with the past, also broke formally with the claim to sole representation of all GDR youngsters and the commitment to being a "helper and militant reserve of the SED" [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. At the same time, the members of the Central Council were released.

Schroeder Elected Chairwoman

LD2801151690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1402 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—Birgit Schroeder from Magdeburg was elected FDJ [Free German Youth] chairperson in a secret ballot and a closed session of the youth organization's congress in Brandenburg (Potsdam area) on Sunday. The 25-year-old creche worker was previously first secretary of the Magdeburg-Nord ward executive.

Extraordinary DBD Congress Held 27 Jan

LD2801011890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2320 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The first day of discussions at the Democratic Peasants Party [DBD] extraordinary congress ended shortly before midnight in Berlin today. [passage omitted]

This evening, Agriculture Minister Dr. Hans Watzek proposed a renewal process for GDR agriculture in the direction of a socially and ecologically oriented market economy. He spoke strongly in favor of mixed ownership. He said that extensive proposals had been submitted to the government for scrapping subsidies. Next week, at a meeting with his FRG counterpart, Kiechle, he will propose an additional agricultural commission involving the two states "so that our problems are not forgotten." The farmers want a share of the 6 billion-mark credit from the FRG. He sees cooperation with EC countries as the only possibility for a new orientation in the GDR agricultural machinery industry. During the discussions, the minister was at times criticized sharply. The farmers will not let themselves be pushed to the margins of society, said several speakers, commenting on half-hearted decisions made by the government.

Environment Minister Dr. Peter Diederich promised greater attention to the environment in the GDR. To date, the proportion of gross domestic product used for investment in the environment has been only 0.4 percent. The 10 major capitalist countries invest an average 0.7 percent. [passage omitted] In March a program will be submitted to the government allowing environment policy to be laid down until the year 2000. [passage omitted]

Maleuda Addresses Congress

LD2701192790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1314 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary congress of the Democratic Peasant Party [DBD] has become necessary because the party's continued existence is at issue, said party Chairman Dr. Guenther Maleuda at the Extraordinary DBD Congress. In his report, entitled "The Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany in the process of the GDR's social renewal," he said that clear answers to urgent questions need to be found, a standpoint in the election campaign worked out, and a new party executive elected. The GDR is in a deep political and economic crisis. It cannot be overlooked that no small number of party members fear an uncertain future. Maleuda pointed out that the DBD currently has more than 117,000 members, which means that since October more than 7,000 members have left the party. It should be stated unambiguously that the DBD leadership does not refuse to accept shared responsibility for the situation that has arisen by blaming others. The DBD shares responsibility for the erroneous developments in the GDR. It supported the policy of the then Socialist Unity of Germany [SED] leadership and did not summon up the strength and determination to protest uncompromisingly against erroneous decisions. [passage omitted]

In the early years of its existence, the DBD defended its independence, Chairman Maleuda went on to state in his report. The decisive break occurred at the start of the 60's after the farmers changed to cooperative farming. After it apparently had fulfilled its obligations, the DBD was not given any more prospects by the SED. Over 300 state functionaries in the party were released from their functions. The party's presence in the agricultural sciences, veterinary medicine, and other areas was rigorously reduced. This pressure led to the Seventh DBD Congress in 1963 declaring the SED's platform the DBD's platform. The party leadership bears the responsibility for this fateful erroneous development. In this, it has not been overlooked that many members used the room for expertise and independent decisions to the limits of the possible. Thus, the DBD had achieved much that was valued by and dear to citizens of the GDR. It must be stressed that the main responsibility for the erroneous political development had to be borne by the former SED leadership. It thus corresponded to the will of the members and its political responsibility when the DBD clearly distanced itself from this party and drew a clear dividing line. The DBD will not enter into an

electoral alliance with the SED-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. It also rules out a coalition with it after the elections.

Out of social responsibility to the people and in the interests of the farmers, the DBD is participating in the Modrow coalition government, Maleuda stated to applause from the delegates; it supports stability. The country has to be governable until the elections. The DBD supports a grand coalition with the participation of all forces from the opposition parties now and immediately. It will not follow the call by the Christian Democratic Union to withdraw its ministers from the government as well, without waiting for the results of the planned coalition talks. The DBD is prepared for dialogue. If a grand coalition does not come about, there is a danger that the country will become ungovernable. In this case, the party would call for the People's Chamber to be dissolved immediately and fresh elections to be held within 45 days, in accordance with Article 64 of the Constitution.

Maleuda said that the DBD is deeply committed to the fundamental renewal of GDR society. It steadfastly rejects the administrative, bureaucratic model of socialism in the Stalinist mold. It strives for an antifascist, democratic, and humanist society that will guarantee secure social conditions for all citizens and the equal development of town and country, will promote a real will for performance and the spirit of enterprise on the basis of a social market economy that meets needs, and is ecologically sound, and will make peace and international understanding its primary goal. For the DBD it is important to retain everything valuable and precious. Here one should bear in mind the preservation of farming traditions, mutual farmers' aid, diligence, and resourcefulness. What they do not want is mass unemployment, land and property speculation, a shortage of apprenticeships, exorbitant rents, homelessness, and drug addiction.

With regard to the unification of the two German states, Maleuda said that the path toward this could be achieved only through a gradual rapprochement and the continual deepening of cooperation. The treaty-based community certainly is the first step. Further steps lead toward a confederation. The agenda includes an economic and currency union and the convertibility of currencies. An additional step on the road to unity is the reintroduction of the Land structures, which the DBD supports. It also must be taken into acocunt that the establishment of state unity cannot be separated from the creation of a joint, extensively demilitarized, peaceful European home. The victorious powers of World War II also have rights and powers with regard to the German question and clearly are wary of any precipitous solution.

Cooperative farmers rightly demand that the achievements of the land reform should not be compromised. The DBD clearly declares: Never again will we permit farmers' land to pass into the hands of Junkers. In a future, socially secure, free-market economy, cooperative ownership and the existence of the cooperative farmers must remain secure. In the interests of the citizens, a unification of the two German states must not be accompanied by a precipitous relinquishing of the GDR's sovereignty. Whatever belongs together organically must grow together.

Maleuda called for secure guarantees against foreign intervention on GDR soil and for the continued existence of the cooperatives and publicly owned farms. For the DBD, the dominance of cooperative and state ownership in agriculture is a cornerstone of the national food supply. There is no alternative to that. This does not mean the exclusion of private agricultural enterprises; they should have the same chances for development.

Immediate clear and effective decisions on economic affairs are demanded of the government. They should facilitate the start of the restructuring of the agricultural production with a view to the demands of the social market economy. This includes, above all, more independence and self-administration for agricultural enterprises. They also should be allowed to benefit from foreign currency profits derived from export orders.

When going over to the market economy, the party considers it essential to carry out a reorientation of industry to enable it to reequip agriculture. A free market should be brought about as soon as possible in which farmers can acquire the requisite production equipment. In the DBD's view, the market economy also demands that the art of agricultural management be learned. Therefore, it proposes to develop the College for the Meissen Agricultural Producer Cooperative and the party-owned Borkheide educational establishment in that direction.

Concerning environmental policy, Maleuda said that the DBD is most closely linked to the ecology and can do a lot for it. Its position is clearly outlined in programmatic principles. In connection with a pro-environmental energy conception and the concomitant noticeable cut in lignite poduction, the DBD is against the demolition of Sorb villages. Furthermore, it demands the abolition of waste transports to the GDR, an end to any exploitation of the forests, and a halt to timber exports.

The party executive emphatically calls for justice in subsidy policy. The rural citizen often is excluded from subsidies, despite the fact that he helps to produce them. Maleuda mentioned as examples the maintenance of residential housing and sites, rents, water, and public transportation fares.

Without a new statute, no renewal of the DBD is possible, Maleuda underlined. It is necessary to carry out a radical break with the rigid structures of democratic centralism, with tutelage and dogmas. The role of the party executive as the leading organ between the party

congresses and of its Presidium will increase. A secretariat will exist no longer and the structure in the apparatus of the party executive will change fundamentally.

The DBD favors elections also being carried out at local level together with the People's Chamber elections in May. This is all the more so since investigations in recent days have proved that the results of the last local government elections were falisified. The DBD chairman called for a fair election campaign and rejected election interference by politicians and parties from outside the GDR. The DBD favors the elections being held on 6 May under the supervision of observers from the CSCE states.

Program Approved

LD2801151890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1416 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary party congress of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany (DBD) approved on Sunday afternoon the "Programmatic Guiding Principles of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany." They are to be valid as a program until the next party congress and form the foundation for working out an election program. A DBD election congress is to be held in early March, the party congress decided. [passage omitted]

Maleuda Reelected Chairman

LD2801155990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1514 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Guenther Maleuda was reelected chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DBD] at the extraordinary DBD party congress on Sunday. He received 615 of the 965 valid votes cast.

Congress Ends

LD2801170490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1634 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The DBD [Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany] would try to bring about "a grand coalition" within the next few days, "not concerned just with discussion but with uncompromising stipulations that contribute to further stabilizing the country in the coming days." This was stated by party chairman Dr. Guenther Maleuda in his concluding address at the DBD Extraordinary Party Congress in Berlin Sunday [28 January]. Should this fail then, commensurate with the resolutions of the party congress, there will be a call for the immediate preparation and carrying out of People's Chamber elections at an earlier date. About his party's future, he said that the DBD intends to continue shouldering government responsibility. It now faces the task of becoming an election campaign party.

The extraordinary party congress ended early Sunday evening.

Commentary Explains Paper's Name Change

AU3001195590

[Editorial report] East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German on 27-28 January on page one, under the headline "Why a New Name?", carries a 600-word commentary by Deputy Chief Editor Klaus Baschleben explaining the intended change of the paper's name from NATIONAL-ZEITUNG to BERLINER ALLGEMEINE as of 1 February. He quotes Guenter Hartmann, former chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD), on the issue, who noted that trying to sell the newspaper in the FRG or to get advertisements from FRG publishing houses and companies would be impossible under the name of NATIONAL-ZEITUNG since this name is linked with ultra-rightism in the FRG.

Baschleben notes that the future BERLINER ALLGEMEINE will be an "independent daily that is close to the NDPD in its ideas and in partnership." He concludes by saying that the paper's publishers are "aware that the renaming of NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in these days of problematic debates about the path and goal of the NDPD will cause additional discussion and may also give rise to misunderstandings. With this article, today we want to clear things up and to contribute to determining our position. In summary, we cannot avoid the objective development processes, which are taking place with enormous dynamism. We have to act quickly and consistently. We ask for comprehension and understanding for this."

Editorial Discusses Cooperation With USSR

AU0702115690 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 31 Jan 90 p 1

[Klaus Wilczynski editorial: "Vital Cooperation"]

[Text] The time is past when people hypocritically talked about the GDR's "unswerving friendship" with the USSR, while busily slinging mud at Gorbachev, perestroyka, and glasnost behind their walls in Wandlitz. Now our relationship with the Soviet Union is normal and honest. The quality of our cooperation with it—which is indispensable because it is vital—is better now because the task now is to resolve factual issues, instead of making a show.

Under such premises, both countries want to meet their responsibility for peace, stability, and European cooperation as allies.

The dialogue with Modrow took place at the Soviet Union's request. Together with the three Western powers, it bears responsibility for "all of Germany" and, basically, also for the idea that the Germans must be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination, which will bring the two German states together, if they so wish. On the other hand, Moscow is concerned about nationalist currents and rash steps. It sees stability in Europe in jeopardy.

After all, many Soviet troops are deployed in the GDR, and large numbers of Western troops in the FRG. Entire defense strategies are based on this presence. How that could be handled when the two German states are united, is a problem about which the West is also thinking aloud. These strategies and in particular our neighbors' interests must be taken into account.

The dialogue in Moscow has made it clear. The German-German process is part of the pan-European process in which many, who do not want to be passed over, have a say.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal From Hungary Viewed

AU0602133290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Jan 90 p 2

[Franz Helling editorial: "Change Of Guarantors"]

[Text] The withdrawal of foreign troops is one of the topics that not only touches off businesslike discussions in East and West on the pros and cons, but also create emotions. Many foreign troops are deployed in Central Europe; on either side of the former Iron Curtain, hundreds of thousands of armed men are deployed in foreign countries. Some people call them liberators, others members of the occupation forces. Most people have considered these troops as guarantors of peaceful life for decades—on this side, the Soviet soldiers, and on the other side, American, British, French, Canadian, and other soldiers.

With the fall of the Iron Curtain, many old patterns of thinking, enemy images, and dogmas have been called into question. Disarmament can now be changed from a gesture into substantive security policy. According to the new way of thinking, the thesis that wars cannot be won by anyone is now developing into the hope that wars have become unnecessary. Democracy, the peoples' self-determination, and the unhindered flow of opinions and people are being established as security guarantees of a modern Europe.

Hungary has concluded from this that the deployment of Soviet troops on its territory is no longer justified—neither on political nor on military aspects. Premier Miklos Nemeth stated to the Parliament in Budapest that he agreed on this with his Moscow counterpart. Negotiations will begin in the next few days on the total troop withdrawal within a very short time.

However, in addition to the national emotions, Hungary once again demonstrates a "European dimension," as it did in September when it dismantled the border. Will others follow its example? The international echo is divided. NATO has welcomed the step. Many people would welcome the idea even more if this military alliance following suit. However, so far only Belgium has indicated that it intends to withdraw its 25,000 troops from the FRG.

New German-Soviet Society Chairman Elected

AU0602133090 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 29 Jan 90 p 1

[Bernd-Michael Heide report: "Priest as New DSF Chairman"]

[Excerpt] Schwerin—Independently, democratically, and independent of all parties—this is how the German-Soviet Friendship Society [DSF] intends to work in the future.

This was decided by the 835 delegates at the extraordinary DSF congress in the hall at the Schwerin television tower on the weekend [27-28 January]. They elected Father Cyrill Pech as new chairman and Juergen Kuczynski as honorary chairman. [passage omitted]

MDF Urges Suspending USSR Military Maneuvers

LD0602184890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] has protested over the fact that the Soviet Southern Army Group will be holding military maneuvers in Transdanubia in February, March, and April. In view of the elections to be held on 25 March, the MDF evaluates the timing of the military maneuver as an unfriendly gesture. The MDF Presidium has called on the provisional president of the Republic and the acting speaker of Parliament to have the Soviet units' maneuvers suspended.

Soviet Army Says No Maneuvers During Elections

LD0602190790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] The Soviet Southern Army Group command stationed in Hungary has sent us a statement, according to which they will not hold any kind of military maneuver in the country during the election campaign or the elections. The troops will remain in their barracks or on the exercise grounds. They will carry out the tasks included in the annual training plan. At the same time, the Southern Army Group command also announces that on 17 February, in a number of Soviet barracks, including Esztergom, Veszprem, Szeged, and Sarbogard, programs will be held entitled "Open Gate." Those interested are cordially invited to attend, including representatives of the various parties and organizations.

Cuts in Border Guard Troops Planned

LD0602173390 Budapest MTI in English 1518 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—The border guard in Hungary is to be cut from 22,000 to 9,000 over the course of the next five years, Brigadier General Janos Szekely, national commander of the border guard of the Ministry of the Interior, announced at a press briefing on Tuesday.

Guarding state borders and monitoring border traffic will be exclusively in the charge of professional guards from 1995.

At present, there are 3,000 professional border guards, 1,600 civilians and 17,000 soldiers in the service, while the corresponding figures for 1995 will be 5,000, 1,600 and 2,000-2,500. Soldiers will have to do only assistant jobs.

The commander said that during the last year, 97 million passports were handled and 25 million vehicles checked. This job is extremely difficult using the old methods, and it is to be hoped that a time will soon come when it will no longer be necesary to stamp each and every passport, and when there will be only selective checks on passenger traffic. However, this kind of service could be carried out only by professionals.

The period of transition will commence on March 1, with professional guards taking over control of the northern border section to begin with.

In order to accelerate passenger traffic, the 72 border-crossing stations will be gradually equipped with computers, and arrangements will be launched to handle European passports, which are coded and planned to be issued to Hungarian citizens as well within a few years' time.

Cabinet Endorses Civilian Use of Barracks

LD0702215290 Budapest MTI in English 2105 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (MTI)—The civilian utilisation of 15 military units, (worth 7,000 million forints) abandoned by Soviet troops in 1989, is to commence shortly. The decision was made at Monday's session of the government, it was announced by Laszlo Lacko, deputy minister of interior, at a press conference held in Budapest on Tuesday. The cabinet endorsed the related proposal by the Ministry of Interior, under which the right of management of buildings, real estates, housing blocks—estimated to be worth 1,200 million forints—will be granted to local councils, while the rest is due to be sold. The buildings and other facilities are in various state of conservation, but most of them are in poor condition. The housing blocks to be soon taken over by the councils, comprise some 450 apartments.

Mr Lacko also called attention to the expected acceleration of the Soviet troop withdrawals in 1990, which will result in vacating a substantial number of real estates. The possibility of utilising these facilities will be examined in the future in synchrony with their vacation.

Diplomatic Relations With Vatican To Resume

AU0602140690 Paris AFP in English 1309 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Vatican City, Feb 6 (AFP)—The Vatican and Hungary will announce the resumption of diplomatic ties on Friday [9 February] at a joint press conference of the Vatican's Secretary of State Cardinal Agostino Casaroli and Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, Hungarian diplomatic sources said here Tuesday.

Hungary will become the third East bloc country to send an ambassador to the Holy See, after Yugoslavia in the 1970s and Poland last year.

Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican's foreign minister, was to fly to Budapest on Wednesday. He will stay in Hungary until Sunday when he will celebrate a mass in St. Stephane's Basilica in thanks for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Budapest and the Vatican.

During his stay, he will also celebrate mass with the Primate of Hungary Laszlo Cardinal Paskai marking the 41st anniversary of the trial of cardinal Jozef Mindszenty, who was jailed for life for plotting against the state. A square will be named after the former cardinal who died in exile in Vienna in 1964, after taking refuge for years at the U.S. Embassy in Budapest. Cardinal Casaroli and the provisional president Matas Szuros will both attend the ceremony which will mark the cardinal's rehabilitation.

Government-Church 1950 Agreement Dissolved

LD0602122490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] The government and the Catholic Bench of Bishops today have dissolved the agreement concluded in 1950. Premier Miklos Nemeth received in his office Cardinal Primate Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom and chairman of the Hungarian Catholic Bench of Bishops. At the meeting, they signed an agreement dissolving the covenant concluded 40 years ago, in view of the fact that the National Assembly has enacted a constitutional law on freedom of conscience and religion, as well as on the churches.

Government, Independent Groups Discuss Economy

LD0202101190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpts] At the end of last year, the so-called Bridge Group was formed with the participation of Gyorgy Soros, economists from the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and independent economic experts. This was done to work out a program for handling the crisis until the formation of a new government. The members of the group today, for the first time, sat down at the negotiating table with representatives of the current government. Laszlo Gardai reports:

[Begin Gardai recording] At the beginning of the debate it became clear that some of the information contained in the study is imprecise. In this regard, State Secretary Gyorgy Suranyi said that contrary to the data supplied, the country now has finances sufficient for 12-13 weeks. According to the original plans, the short-term program is being prepared for 100 days, from which it also follows that this government can only partly undertake the implementation of this, not to speak of the fact that legal amendments would be needed for several of the measures, which cannot be realized either legally or in practice. [passage omitted]

Government and Bridge Group experts considered curbing inflation to be one of the most important tasks. In connection with this, the state secretary said that further inflationary measures are not planned, adding that in the coming months there will not be a drastic forint devaluation.

An even bigger concern than inflation is constituted by the problems related to CEMA. Trade Secretary of State Imre Dunai discussed this, emphasizing that the economic situation in East European countries is radically deteriorating. This could even cause CEMA's complete financial collapse, but no plans can be made for this eventuality.

The experts also agreed that the export of rubles must be curbed. Beyond the measures taken to date, possible enterprise bankruptcies must be handled in a consistent way, too. This year, a 20-percent export reduction can be realized without larger-scale tensions.

The Bridge Group experts advised that real interest rates should rise, for the currenty situation does not encourage savings. According to Gyorgy Suranyi, a higher level of interest would not be a greater encouragement, and, at the same time, it would take away billions from the budget, for example, through interest support. [passage omitted]

There was a long debate on wages with a significant difference of opinion concerning one issue. The government is committed to maintaining the current wage liberalization, while the independent experts see the danger of a prices-wages spiral being unleashed, and, as a result, significantly higher levels of inflation. [passage omitted] [end recording]

AFD, HSP, HDF Officials on Planned Summit

LD0602183790 Budapest MTI in English 1335 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—The interim president of the Republic of Hungary has invited leading officials from 18 parties to discuss in parliament certain issues relating to a peaceful transition.

This new round of the national summit meeting, organized at the initiative of several parties, will probably be attended by the prime minister and the acting speaker of parliament.

MTI's correspondent interviewed the representatives of three parties about what they expected the summit to achieve.

Janos Kis, executive of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD):

"Although the Free Democrats welcome the idea of the meeting, we have the impression that it has not been adequately prepared: It seems to us the invited organizations have been selected at random and the themes for discussion no sufficiently elaborated. That's why we feel it would be appropriate to postpone the conference. We propose the interim president of the republic should invite parties which are truly capable of attaining the status of a national party. Until then, the discussions could be prepared at bilateral consultations.

As the Free Democrats recieved the invitation two days beforehand, we are not expecting substantive results from the meeting and have, therefore, decided to stay away despite all our sympathy for the initiative."

Viktor Polgar, spokesman for the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]:

"In our statement a few days ago, we at the HSP pointed out that the peaceful transition is in danger. We're afraid the free elections won't really be free and will fail to bring genuine social peace. The Hungarian Socialist Party considers it a minimal aim for the conference to confirm the agreements from the December summit of the government, parties and trade unions and reach a compromise on how to carry out the peaceful transition."

The National Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) states:

"The HDF wants to see a radical turn sweeping away all remnants of the party dictatorship, and will make no compromise to the contrary. We demand a price freeze on basic consumer goods by March 25, because the drastic price rises are already threatening even the calm atmosphere of the election campaign. We want parliamentary action to protect national property. The HDF is not going to talk about the treatment of social discontent, for it wants to eliminate the underlying causes. Nor do we wish to discuss the purity of elections, since we feel the national summit has no means whatsoever of enforcing it".

HDF Candidates Issue Statement

LD0402201190 Budapest MTI in English 1830 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 4 (MTI)—MPs [Members of Parliament] nominated by the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) held their first conference at the Budapest Technical University on Sunday. The statement passed at the conference was forwarded to MTI.

MP candidates of the Hungarian Democratic Forum pronounce—in agreement with the party's national presidium—that in the new, democratic parliament, they do not wish to represent party interests, but intend to serve the people and the nation to their best knowledge. In addition, it is expressed in the statement that the party explicitely considers as its political opponents the candidates nominated by successors of the former communist ruling party, thus the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] and other associated organisations. Candidates of the HDF are firm in being non- committal in any sort of political cooperation with these candidates and their parties in the run-up to the March elections and also afterwards.

MDF Official on Party Office Burglaries

LD0502211490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Denes Csengey, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], lives in Veszprem, the town where, for the sake of variety, there was a break-in yesterday at the office of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. As you will soon hear, Denes Csengey handles the irrational manifestations of political hysteria with exemplary tolerance and patience. Henrik Havas reports:

[Begin recording] [Havas] What can you say about the party office break-ins and to the increasingly rough election campaign?

[Csengey] A break-in can scarcely be excused. The SZDSZ figures in the story in two ways: Some of its members are burglars, and others are the victims of break-ins. I know that Janos Kis is not a burglar. I know that Gyorgy Konrad is not a burglar. With your permission, I shall not hasten to take advantage of the opportunity to implicate them in this. They will have enough trouble the way it is anyway.

Of course, a party is responsible for its supporters, but only when their character has come to light—and to my knowledge they immediately expelled the two SZDSZ members [who broke into the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) office in Szolnok]. For my part, I do not favor the launching of a campaign of accusations against the Free Democrats merely because some of their members proved unworthy of their leaders' honesty and their clean ideals and intentions. I consider it to be very mediocre of the HSP to excessively exploit this opportunity, which undoubtedly has emerged for it.

[Havas] I believe that the Democratic Forum also faces this danger; some of its members, out of stupidity or whatever—possibly thoughtlessness if they were young—tried to help yesterday in an illegal way. I imagine that no party has a cure for this.

[Csengey] It is necessary to pass very quick internal judgments, moral judgments, in these matters, and then we must mutually assure one another that the misdeeds of individuals will not be used by us to implicate entire parties and honest people with serious pasts, serious life histories, in this slime. One should only avail himself of such opportunities with great restraint. [end recording]

Young Democrats News Conference on Current Events

LD0202133690 Budapest MTI in English 2210 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—According to the position of the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD), the central European processes are irreversible. Therefore, there is no cause for panic, not even if a change should come about in the Soviet leadership, said

Spokesman Andras Bozoki at the press conference of FYD held on Thursday [1 February].

With respect to the Romanian events, the leading body of FYD is of the opinion that disquieting occurrences have also been experienced in the past week, following the euphoria elicited by the December revolution, however, objectivity and moderation are needed in evaluations related to Romania. FYD does not wish to use nationalist propaganda in its election campaign, and calls on the other parties to show self-restraint when formulating their policies related to Romania.

Evaluating the current home political situation, the FYD calls attention to dangerous tendencies which are suited for inciting a hysterical mood. These [words indistinct] ground of dealing with political on an emotional basis, from the revival of anti-semitism, or from the appearance of social demagogy, Bozoki said. He noted that in its election campaign, FYD takes a stand against all forms of inciting political hysterics, irrespective of whether this starts out from the part of the government, trade unions, or any other party.

Deputy Foreign Minister Views Minority Rights

LD2901212390 Budapest MTI in English 2034 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 29 (MTI)—Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai, received on Monday Romanian writer, Tanase Stelian, president of the Social Dialogue Group, accompanied by sociologist Allin Teodorescu, vice president of the group, historian Lajos Demeny and psychologist Istvan Tudos, member of the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania. The view was shared by the sides that democracy is a necessary but not a sufficient condition in asserting the rights of national minorities. Assessing the individual and collective rights of Romanian Hungarians and their related endeavours cannot be looked upon as separatist activity. It was with deep concern that the sides spoke about the emerging signs of the Romanian national ungenerosity.

Mr Szokai spoke about the specific proposals by the Hungarian Government in recent weeks, for the settlement of bilateral ties, but were left without adaquate response by Romania. It is only rightful for the Hungaian people to expect from the new Romanian leadership to distance itself from the ill-willed, unfounded accusations of the former dictatorship, Mr Szokai emphasized.

Mr Tanase said his organisation supports the reopening of the Hungarian chief consulate in Cluj, the founding of the Bolyai University and asserting the rights of the Hungarian nationals in Romania. The experience gained in Europe and in Hungary regarding the protection of minority rights would be welcome in the course of drafting the new Romanian constitution and legislative process. A joint Hungarian-Romanian initiative is proposed by Mr Tanase for the settlement of ties.

Hungarian Section of Pan-European Union Founded

LD0502235390 Budapest MTI in English 2122 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—The Hungarian section of the International Pan-European Union held its founding session during the weekend. Members of the Executive Board appointed by the session include Janos Szentagothai, academician, Peter Bokor, film director and member of the Board of the International Pan-European Union, and Miklos Hubay, writer.

At the press conference held in Budapest on Monday [5 February] Otto Von Habsburg, chairman of the International Pan-European Union, pointed out that the aim of the movement was still the unification of central and eastern Europe. As the ideal of pan Europeanism embraces the whole of Europe with its borders not limited by either the common market or Yalta, its form is a free pluralistic and socialist democracy.

Otto Von Habsburg delivered a lecture at the Comenius Teacher- Training College in Sarospatak on Monday at the invitation of the town's students' union. He said that Hungary had good chances of becoming member of the European Parliament this year, to be followed by her admission to the Common Market.

Horn Holds Talks on Joining Council of Europe

LD0602185590 Budapest MTI in English 1419 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe, in Hungary on a two-day visit, began her programme by holding talks with foreign Minister Gyula Horn on Tuesday.

In the course of the meeting, they surveyed the history of cooperation between Hungary and the Council of Europe.

Mr Horn said the Hungarian Government was pleased that the Council had accepted the invitation to send representatives to the March elections. Mme Lalumiere said the delegation to Hungary would comprise members of the most important political factions of the Council.

The Hungary foreign minister spoke at length about the international covenants Hungary wishes to join. These include the agreement on preserving the architectural and archaeological legacy of Europe, and the one against violence at sports events. Mr Horn offered Hungary's assistance in working out the draft for the charter on regional and minority languages if the Council of Europe so requested.

The meeting also touched upon Hungary's application for membership of the Council of Europe. The secretary-general said that the parliamentary assembly had already designated people to prepare the reports necessary for

joining the forum. They would soon come to Hungary to examine the legal and other aspects of affiliation. The procedure for Hungary to become a full Council member will probably take a year, in other words, Hungary could well become a member this year.

Mme Lalumiere concluded by saying that the Council of Europe wishes to become an independent forum for national minorities, whose situation cannot be regarded as exclusively a country's domestic affair. As time is pressing, the best way to handle ethnic affairs should be pinpointed as soon as possible, as the situation in Europe might easily get out of control.

Mr Horn said the Hungarian experts were ready to cooperate with the Council on this particular issue as well.

Horn Hosts Lunch for Arab Envoys

LD0502221790 Budapest MTI in English 1711 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, hosted a gala lunch on Monday for the ambassadors of the Arab countries to Hungary.

Mr Horn briefed his guests on Hungary's diploamtic activity and the attempts to make her foreign policy more open also through gradually removing ideolgoical barriers, parallel to overtaking previous decisions made in the framework of the alliance system. In the wake of these efforts, relations with Israel, South Korea and Chile have been normalized, and contacts with South Africa have been established.

Mr Horn stressed that although Hungary's foreign political principles remained unchanged her interstate relations had been adjusted to the realities. Mr Horn also stressed that as regards the Middle East question Hungary calls for a peaceful settlement with the mutual consideration of the interests of the parties involved. He underlined that Hungary was directly interested in the settlement of the regional tensions in the Middle East.

The ambassadors emphasized the importance of a cooperation between Hungary and the Arab states and said joint projects should be encouraged. They were also interested in investment possibilities in Hungary.

The ambassadors were briefed on the potential effects of the changes taking place in central and Eastern Europe, as well as other questions relating to the international activity of the Republic of Hungary.

Adria Pipeline Delivers Oil to Hungary

LD0502222490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] The first significant quantity of oil through the Adria pipeline has arrived in Hungary. The pipeline, constructed 10 years ago, remained virtually unused until now. Now, however, the USSR has reduced deliveries of oil; thus some 200,000 tonnes of fuel from Iraq have become necessary.

Szuros Receives FRG Bundestag Delegation

LD0502222290 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, and Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the National Assembly, received in parliament on Monday Hans Stercken, chairman of the Foreign Committee of the Bundestag of the FRG, and his entourage.

According to MTI's information, at the cordial meeting between Mr Szuros and Herr Stercken, the West German politician expressed thanks to Hungary for making a major contribution to the East European transformation. He also briefed his host on the FRG's views of the German reunification, stressing that this question should be solved with the interest of the entire Europe and the Soviet Union in mind.

Mr Szuros ensured his guests of Hungary's intention to stick to the Helsinki spirit in her political endeavours and the wish to contribute to the approach between the two German states, and thus the settlement of the German question.

In the briefing he gave to MTI on his meeting with Herr Stercken, Mr Fodor said his guest was mainly interested in Hungary's political orientation after the elections, particularly in Europe. In his reply, the acting speaker pointed out that it had become obvious two years before that the only way for Hungary to integrate into Europe lay in transforming her political structure and economy. The elections will be the final touch to the political transformation.

Mr Fodor said that 'The ideological basis for the political unity of East European countries has ceased to exist, and the basis for their military alliance will, hopefully, also disappear soon, but this is not a question of unilateral intentions. Economic cooperation will remain to a certain degree, but this is not where the solution to Hungary's problems lies in the first place. It is in the ability to make high-quality products that are in demand on the Western markets. The laws devised to regulate economy will enable us to integrate into the world market.'

Cultural Agreement Signed With Romania

LD0502182390 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—A cooperation agreement between the Hungarian Ministry of Education and the Romanian Ministry of Culture was signed by Ferenc Glatz, minister of culture and education, and Andrei Plesu, minister of culture, in Budapest on Monday.

The agreement for 1990 states that the Mixed Committee for Hungarian-Romanian Cultural Cooperation, with a new membership, should resume activity and hold a session before the end of April.

The sides called on the related government bodies of the two countries to launch preparations for a new cultural and scientific cooperation agreement corresponding to the democratic changes in their countries. The cultural institutions of the two countries will be assisted in setting up direct links with each other both with government backing and at their own initiative.

The agreement pledges support for writer and art associations, as well as individual writers and artists in Hungary and Romania to set up direct links. Romanian and Hungarian poets will be invited to Hungary to attend Poetry's Day in April, and the Bucharest-based Kriterion publishing house to be present at the festive book week, and, in turn, Hungarian poets and authors will be visiting similar Romanian events. Relations and exchange performances of theatres and companies will also be supported.

Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—The sides call for the mutual research of the national collections in the two countries and promise to guarantee the objective representation of the histories of the two nations. There will be preparations made for an exhibition on the history of Hungarian and Romanian education and relations to be held in Budapest and Bucharest in 1991. The Romanian nationality in Hungary and the Hungarian nationality in Romania will be supported in establishing or reopening their own museums.

Citizens will be assisted in subscribing for the press releases of the other country, and the related authorities will be asked to adjust the export and import in dailies and periodicals to the genuine requirements. Collaboration in book publishing will also be encouraged.

Romanian and Hungarian nationality organizations and institutions in both countries will be encouraged to assume relations with the cultural organizations and institutions in the mother country.

The sides deem it necessary in accordance with the 1969 agreement for a Hungarian cultural centre to be set up in Bucharest and a Romanian one in Budapest during this year. The renewal of the activity of the Hungarian-Romanian and Romanian-Hungarian friendship societies will also be helped. Cooperation in the field of religious culture is also on the agenda.

Mazowiecki Addresses Council of Europe

AU0602150090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Jan 90 p 3

[Speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on 30 January]

[Text] Mr chairman! Ladies and gentlemen! Europe is going through an exceptional period. Half of the continent, broken off from the mother stock almost half a century ago, now wants to return to it. A return to Europe! This phrase is becoming increasingly popular in Central and East Europe. Politicians and economists are talking about a return; even people of culture are talking about it, though one would have thought that these people had lived in Europe all the time, a Europe understood as an area of common traditions and values. Perhaps a return to Europe is too weak a term to describe the process we are going through. We should speak rather about the rebirth of a Europe that ceased to exist when the Yalta settlements were concluded.

My presence among you is a sign of that rebirth. It is a sign of rebirth of the European feeling of community and solidarity which has too often been forgotten in recent decades. While saying these words, I should also like to mention all those who have kept alive the feeling of European communion and solidarity. I think of those who protested loudly and publicly against acts of force like the invasion of Hungary in 1956 and of Czechoslovakia in 1968. I also have in mind the multitude of our Western friends, who gave us moral and material assistance after the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981. During various periods and difficult times, a particularly valuable web of friendship was woven. This web still exists and is a valuable basis on which to rebuild the political and economic components of genuine communion with other countries on our continent.

The Poles are aware of their European status, of their European character. They are aware of this, just like other European countries that exist at the point of contact between different cultures and next door to major powers, countries that have experienced periods of existence and nonexistence, and for this reason require an affirmation of their identity. Europe has always been a point of reference for questions concerning our identity—a Europe which the Poles felt they were guardians of, which they loved. For three centuries, the ideology of Christianity as a bulwark, in other words the bulwark of Europe, was very much alive in Poland. Therefore, Europe is alive in Polish consciousness as a value for which one must live and also sometimes die. Grudges and grievances have also been addressed to this Europe, and this attitude persists among us to this day. We still perceive a value in Europe, we still perceive a homeland of freedom and truth, and we continue to identify ourselves strongly with this Europe. We still bear grudges against Europe for agreeing to Yalta, for agreeing to divide the continent, and for leaving us at the other side of the iron curtain.

Today, however, when a return to Europe and a rebirth of Europe as a whole is becoming increasingly real, we ask ourselves more and more frequently what we have to give to Europe, and what our contribution to the European treasury is.

I think we have a lot to offer to Europe. Both our strength and weakness are our contribution to Europe.

We are like a man recovering from a severe illness. For years, we were under terrible strain from totalitarian pressure, and we endured it. We are still convalescing. Our economy found itself in a critical condition, from which we are extricating it. State democratic institutions are only now being rebuilt and restored. But we have experiences which we will not forget, and which we will pass on to others.

If we managed to survive as a community, we owe this, among other things, to our deep attachment to some institutions and to certain European values. We owe it to our religion and the church, to our attachment to democracy and pluralism, to human rights and to civic liberties, to the idea of solidarity. Even when we were unable to practice these values fully and implement them in our collective lives, we still loved them, cherished them, and fought for them. We know them, and we know their price. We know the price of belonging to Europe, we know the price of European standards which inhabitants of the West are inheriting without even paying any capital transfer tax. We can remind them of that price. Therefore we are contributing to Europe our faith in Europe.

Today we are applying for membership in the Council of Europe. We wish to "implement a closer community between its members, in order to protect and promote the ideals which form their common heritage, and encourage their economic and social progress." Together we want to expand human rights and basic liberties. With such a great contribution to defending human rights and liberties, and being a remarkable hotbed of European ideas and initiatives, the Council of Europe seems a proper place for the presence of Poland, which has done a lot to defend these rights and liberties.

Ladies and gentlemen! The divided Europe, which until recently was symbolized by the Berlin Wall, may start growing back together. This may be fascinating, though it will certainly be very difficult and will take a long time. Nevertheless, the basic political preconditions to commence this work have appeared and continue to appear. They did not exist before.

We in Poland are faced with an enormous task: To reestablish the laws and institutions of a modern democracy and market economy after an interval that lasted decades. This task also involves the need to overcome great economic difficulties. Not only do these laws and institutions have to be reestablished, they have to be created for the first time where they did not exist before. Without that, our two European worlds will not combine.

Poland has undertaken this work. The government, which I have been heading for nearly 5 months, has led in the adoption of, and also prepared, numerous laws that form a legal framework for the independence of the courts, the freedom of the press, freedom of association, the freedom to form political parties, and the formation of local self-government bodies, whose authenticity will soon be restored in the forthcoming local government elections. We are working on a new constitution for the Polish Republic, which will be a democratic state of law.

Since the beginning of this year we have been implementing a very difficult economic program aimed not only at eliminating inflation, but also at creating the basis for a modern market economy, based on the tested institutions of the developed European countries. We shall follow this road and introduce further features. Important among these is the transformation of ownership and the introduction of state interventionism and social security, which are appropriate to a market economy. We shall expand social security when possibilities permit. For we want Poland's future economic system to combine effective incentives for production with decent protection for those social groups that need it under a free market and market competition.

In concert with our CEMA partners, we have also started work on a profound reform of that institution. We believe CEMA should become a voluntary accord between countries who consider it expedient to participate in it, concerning matters which, in their conviction, require joint agreement and activity. We would not wish to create closed associations of integration, separated from the rest of the world not only by borders, but by customs barriers as well. We do not want to do that, because we do not wish to avoid a Europe in which political walls are replaced with economic ones.

We know that such ideas of openness are not alien to you. That is good, otherwise it would be an obstacle to mutual rapprochement, the need for which one can hear in every single call for a Europe free of divisions.

Ladies and Gentlemen! Just as the Berlin Wall was until recently a symbol of Europe's division and, at the same time, a physical barrier dividing Germany into two states, so too does its collapse, creating the chance of European unity, place the problem of German unity on the agenda. No one can deny any nation the right to live within a single statehood. However, the division of Germany occurred as a result of a great catastrophe brought about by Hitler's state, a catastrophe that claimed the lives of tens of millions of people. So it is not surprising that today, when the prospect of restoring German unity is emerging, that the memory of that catastrophe should arouse concern, which not even obvious and important counterarguments, for instance that the situation in Europe is different today and that Germany is also different, are capable of erasing. We appreciate these arguments. But the concern should be understood and it should be dispelled by solving the German question in concert with all parties concerned, and in a way that provides, in advance, a reliable feeling of security for all who need it, especially the feeling that the Polish western border is inviolable.

Ladies and gentlemen! The changes in central Europe and the Soviet Union are bringing great chances, but they are not free of danger. In a number of countries, advocates of the old order have lost their grip on the course of events, though they can still interfere with it. In other countries, these people are on the defensive, but they have neither lost hope nor the ability to regain their position. If profound symptoms of destabilization persist, coupled with economic detente, their chances could even increase. These chances will diminish when the presently energetic societies in our region learn how to carry out essential changes as calmly as possible, but with determination, and without pursuing the "everything at once" rule. Such a way of conduct often achieves effects that are opposite to the ones intended.

A danger of another kind is the possibility of the "Balkanization" of a part of the European continent, or even of particular countries, due to sharp tensions between particular peoples or states having their source in the past and present. Such an eruption of parochialism, coupled with a loss of feeling for regional or European interests, would be a great obstacle to the creation of healthy relationships of mutual understanding and joint activity on our continent.

But the processes going on in Central and East Europe, though fraught with danger, are first of all an exceptional historic challenge. Although it is obvious that they are above all a challenge for us in Central Europe, they are also a historic challenge and task for the whole of Europe. The scope of action is broad. There is room in it for the inhabitants of the West who believe in the sense and purpose of our undertaking. With them, with you, it will be easier for us to reduce the distance that separates us. The wall between the free Europe and the subjugated Europe has already been destroyed. Now we have to fill in the ditch between the poor Europe and the rich Europe. If Europe is to be a common home in which no one closes the door on anyone else, such deep differences cannot survive. A lot of work is in store for all of us together.

Today we need new road signs to guide our efforts toward a joint, all-European future from which no one would be excluded, and in which everyone would find his interests. It is not easy to establish this direction, for it can only be done during collective thinking and work. But if we are witnessing before our very eyes the formation of the Europe of 1993 [year as published] in your part of the continent, why should we not think about the whole of Europe of 2000? How realistic and imaginable this Europe can be if we combine our efforts!

This will certainly still not be a Europe with a free transfer of goods, capital, and people, but it may be a Europe with considerably reduced customs and political

barriers, fully open to young people. After all, the fortunes of Europe depend on the way in which we bring up the citizens of Europe.

This may be a Europe with richer contacts between artists and scholars, which will encourage a rapprochement between national cultures.

This will not be a Europe with a single currency, but it may be a Europe with similar economies, a more uniform standard of living, and rich comprehensive trade.

It may also be a Europe with clean air, clean water, and unpolluted soil; an ecologically healthy Europe.

Above all, it must be a Europe with firm progress in disarmament, a Europe that will influence the whole world as a source of peace and international coexistence.

When one thinks about it, there are still many spheres of social life that can be better managed together in the last decade of the 20th century. We only need to start working on this.

There are already structures on our continent in which such work can proceed, because it has already been proceeding for a long time. The Council of Europe is such a structure. One of its objectives is to defend and implement the ideals and principles that constitute the joint heritage of its member countries and support economic and social progress.

Today, however, when such a great acceleration of history has occurred, conditions are emerging which permit us to consider these very matters together with all other states, groups, and organizations. It is becoming necessary and possible to create all-European structures that will undertake these tasks.

I think the time has come to put into concrete terms the ideas of a "common home" and a "European confederation" recently promoted by outstanding statesmen. The time has come to set up institutions that really encompass the whole of Europe.

Therefore, I would like to repeat here in Strasbourg the initiative, which I recently put forward in our parliament: the setting up of a council of European cooperation, covering all the countries which signed the CSCE Final Act. This council would have two tasks: first, to prepare summit meetings of CSCE states; second, to discuss current all-European problems inbetween regular meetings of representatives of the CSCE states. We trust that in this way, the CSCE process would gain the fresh impetus it needs, and at the same time would facilitate the implementation of further initiatives covering our continent and aimed at its unity.

Ladies and Gentlemen! I am speaking to you from Strasbourg, the capital of Europe, a city which, just like our country, has often been ruffled by the winds of history, a city which has passed from one side to another many times, forcing the question of its own identity. It is the capital of a region which was disputed for 1,000 years, a city heavily tested by revolution, a city that is an oasis of peace and prosperity today. That dispute has ended virtually before our own eyes. This city is a symbol of hope for those of us from central Europe, where traces of past disputes keep resurfacing. All of Europe is facing a historic challenge in restoring its unity. Whether we meet this challenge depends on us and you. Over one year ago, Pope John Paul II told the Parliamentary Assembly of this Council: "The member countries of your council realize that they do not constitute all of Europe. It is my fervent wish that I may witness a strengthening of the cooperation with other countries that have been outlined here, especially with the countries of Central and East Europe. I am convinced that I am expressing the wishes of millions of men and women who are aware of the ties of common history and who pin their hopes on the unity and solidarity worthy of this continent." When the pope uttered these words, no one guessed that an advantageous situation would emerge so soon and that his wish would begin to come true.

Among the many symbols of this city, on the facade of the Strasbourg Cathedral, are the Biblically wise and foolish virgins. Let us be like the wise ones. Let us recognize the emergence of this special historic circumstance, and let us be ready to accept it. Let us correctly recognize the challenge we are facing. Let us be wise, bold, and farsighted.

Mazowiecki Interviewed on Roundtable Anniversary

LD0602211690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Studio interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by unidentified studio announcer on the occasion of the first anniversary of the commencement of the roundtable discussions on 6 February—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Mr. Premier, what reflections do you have now, after a year has passed since the roundtable, since the start of the deliberations?

[Mazowiecki] Well, you know, my first reflection is that it is you who have reminded me of this anniversary. That is, the time has been so intense during this year, that it is not even possible to remember that this is already the anniversary. When I sat down to the roundtable a year ago, we did not expect that in both Poland and in the countries surrounding Poland, that such great changes would take place over this year. On the other hand, we undoubtedly believed and judged that the direction would be that which has in fact been confirmed, and that it was necessary to somehow, through joint effort, come to an understanding to tackle these real problems that have accumulated. (?Thus), my reflection is a reflection on the enormous intensity of this time, of the great acceleration of history in the course of this year, in Poland and in the countries surrounding Poland. And in fact, perhaps the last such [word indistinct] is the fact

that we simply do not have the time to mark anniversaries, for we must, instead, look to the future.

[Announcer] Well precisely, Mr. Premier, is this roundtable contact still valid? Many people feel that life has significantly overtaken those decisions, and that in essence, apart from the fact that it is appropriate to resolve conflicts peacefully, nothing else remains from this table.

[Mazowiecki] Well, life has certainly overtaken those decisions. But what you said, that conflicts must be resolved peacefully, is a very important thing that has lasted. This is not some minor detail that remains, but a (?fundamental) [word indistinct]. There is also a certain method in looking at what should be verified, by virtue of this acceleration of (?the timetable). A method that has probably passed the test. I can say, even if only on the basis of my recent trips, if only on the basis of my talks during (?my visit to) the EEC, that we are respected for this. Poland is respected as the zone where the transformations have probably reached deepest, and in which this method assures a certain stability in these transformations. Not as much, not as much fireworks as, lets say, the thoroughness of these transformations and their permanence.

[Announcer] But there are also those who say that without the roundtable, the transformations could have gone further; that the roundtable decisions in a certain way cramped life in our country.

[Mazowiecki] There will always be those who will say that we should have done this better, that we should [words indistinct] who set the question why did we not to this better?

Foreign Minister in Bonn for 3-Day Visit

LD0502232590 Warsaw PAP in English 2212 GMT 5 Feb 90

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, Feb. 5—Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski arrived in Bonn today for a three-day official visit.

The visit is paid in the frame lines of regular consultations, also between ministers of foreign affairs, agreed upon during Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Warsaw in November 1989. At the same time the Polish minister is paying a return visit after the January 1988 official visit paid to Warsaw by Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

During the first day of the visit Minister Genscher gave a dinner in honour of the Polish guest at his private residence. Officials accompanying Minister Skubiszewski were entertained to a dinner by Ambassador Dieter Kastrup.

Tuesday and Wednesday will be filled by numerous ministerial meetings, as well as by Minister Skubiszewski's meetings with Bonn's top politicians, especially with Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The meeting with CSU [Christian Social Union] head, Minister of Finance Theo Waigel will be an occasion to discuss key economic issues, which were outlined in a joint declaration announced after Chancellor Kohl's visit in Warsaw.

Among issues awaiting implementation is the exchange of military attache's offices, opening of Consulates General in both countries, institutes of culture, the intensification of tourist exchange which encounters restrictions imposed by the FRG side. These are only some topics to be discussed. As for big politics, sides are to discuss the German issue in the all-European frame lines.

Meanwhile, awaited with interest is the planned lecture to be delivered by Minister Skubiszewski at the Society of Foreign Policy.

Skubiszewski's visit coincided with another statement by Minister Genscher on the durability of Poland's Western border. The statement included a suggestion for parliaments and governments of both German states to issue an appropriate joint border declaration, settling the German stand on this border also in the future.

Communique Issued on Talks

LD0602235190 Warsaw PAP in English 2305 GMT 6 Feb 90

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz—all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Bonn, Feb. 6—Several-hour-long consultations of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Poland and the FRG initiated here today were carried out both between heads of diplomacy Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Hans Dietrich Genscher and at a plenary meeting in three working teams, namely for the bilateral political relations, for economic issues and for disarmament and arms control.

Both sides made a preliminary balance of the implementation of the settlements contained in the Mazowiecki-Kohl joint statement of last November.

The ministers focused mainly on the problems of a future shape of Europe. The communique published by the FRG's Foreign Ministry after the talks reads that both ministers "firmly came out in favour of calling the CSCE summit still this year. The conference should firmly confirm the CSCE Final Act of Helsinki and deal with Europe's future taking into account aspects of politics, economy and security.

"The guest from Poland pointed out that in many aspects such a conference would perform the function of a peaceful regulation since most of European problems have already been settled.

Minister Genscher underlined that the Federal Government wants unification of both German states within European framework, following the CSCE process and added that there is convergence of views in the West that the Atlantic Pact should not extend its range to the East, even in case of unification.

The communique of the FRG's Foreign Ministry also says that both ministers stated in concert that inclusion of the process of Germany unification in the pan-European framework is conducive to stability in Europe while restriction of neutrality to Germany only is not the right road.

Both ministers declared willingness for cooperation, as close as possible, in continuation of the CSCE process and in disarmament.

It was settled that soon consulates general and cultural institutes of both countries will be opened in Krakow and Hamburg.

Minister Skubiszewski held also a meeting with minister of finance, CSU [Christian Social Union] Chairman Theo Waigel. The hosts unofficially said that they attach considerable importance to the economic dialogue with Poland.

The talk with SPD [Social Democratic Party] chairman and leader of the parliamentary faction Hans-Jochen Vogel focused on the bilateral relations and problems of the European integration. The interlocutors stressed that the recognition of Poland's western border with no reservations is a condition for success of the European integration processes.

They agreed also that like extension of the NATO influence in the eastern direction, Germany's neutralization itself will not result in improvement of the situation in Europe.

Minister Skubiszewski met also with representatives of Polonian organizations and Solidarity groups active in the FRG.

In the evening Minister Genscher gave a reception in honour of the Polish guest. Both minsters delivered toasts.

Minister Skubiszewski invited Minister Genscher to pay a visit to Poland.

Mazowiecki Plans UK Visit 12-14 Feb

LD0502231790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki will pay an official visit to the United Kingdom 12-14 February.

Various Publications Face Closure

LD0202230490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] The "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Publishing Cooperative has decided to close down the publication of TRYBUNA LUDU as of 5 February. It was also decided that the publications NOWE DROGI, PROBLEMY POKOJU I SOCJALIZMU, and PORADNIK ROLNIKA I PSZCZELARZA would cease publication.

In connection with the closure of TRYBUNA LUDU, the chairman of the cooperative has recalled Jerzy Majka from the post of editor in chief of TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA, and entrusted this post to Marek [last name indistinct]

As of 5 February, the "Book and Knowledge" publishing house will also be closed down. Witold [last name indistinct] has been recalled from the post of chief editor in this publishing house. Zbyslaw Rykowski has been appointed to the post of organizer in a new publishing house.

NSF Platform-Program Revealed in Bucharest

AU0602223890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2015 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Platform-Program of the National Salvation Front of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/2/1990—The platform-program of the National Salvation Front [NSF], a democratic political formation with a wide social compass, set up in the process of the December 1989 revolution, that pursues the transformation of the Romanian society based on the values of democracy, freedom and dignity, has been released in Bucharest.

The program rests on the idea of rallying all creative forces of the country in view of building a pluralist, democratic system, a modern and efficient democracy, of revival of the national culture bringing to the fore the human and material resources, the genuine traditions of the Romanian people, as well as the experience of the advanced contemporary societies.

The platform-program establishes the basic directions of the National Salvation Front's activity: complete divorce from the totalitarian political, economic and social system that led to the dictatorial regime of these last few decades; elimination from the society of the ideology characteristic of that system and the rejection of other extremist, anti-democratic and anti-humanist conceptions; the remaking of the internal structures of the civil society severely affected by the hierarchic-bureaucratic and authoritarian methods; provision of conditions for every social group to be able to sustain its interests at the level of power and influence the decision-making process; guaranteed exercise of individual and collective rights of the members of the national minorities, their representation in the state bodies in compliance with the Constitution, free access to complete instruction in mother tongue, assertion of their cultural and spiritual identity; the creation of a political culture of democracy open to social dialogue and relying upon genuinely humanist values; unfettering of the nation's creative forces, encouragement of the spirit of initiative and the promotion of competence.

As for the state power, the Front means to lay foundations to a de jure social state relying upon social justice and equity, upon the supremacy of law.

The National Salvation Front also campaigns for a democratic system based on political pluralism, the separation of the legislative, executive and juridical power and the election of political leaders in the state for one or two terms at the most, for the establishement of a genuine parliamentary institution and of normal, civilized conditions for the unfolding of the parliamentary life.

The Front will work for the remaking of the natural statute and of the prestige of the Romanian Army, for updating its equipment and drilling.

In the announced program the National Salvation Front advocates the cessation of any political, propaganda and electoral competition activities in the institutions connected with the state administration, the Army and the judiciary.

In the economic domain, the Front pursues the gradual passage of the Romanian economy to a liberalized, decentralized and diversified economy based on market mechanisms, for turning all economic sectors profitable and the building of a new structure of the Romanian economy in accord with the society's material and human resources, while keeping under control inflation and unemployment and preserving the country's socio-political stability.

The economic system envisioned by the Front will encourage the private and collective initiative, will allow for competition, will guarantee the rights and options of the enterprise and of the individual, while not allowing forms of monopoly to control and dominate the society's life. The diversification of the forms of ownership—state, cooperative, stock, private, mixed—will be promoted.

In industry, the state ownership will be maintained in the case of large enterprises, integrated in the market mechanism. Conditions will be provided for some enterprises to start self-administration, for the formation of share-holding societies, mixed societies, including with foreign capital, as well as of private enterprises, especially in small-scale production and services.

Agriculture is a central domain of the Front's policy. The final aim is the formation of viable structures adjusted to Romanian realities that should meet the requirements of an intensive, modern high-yield agriculture. The Front is for the remaking of the peasant farmsteads, by giving the peasants land for use or ownership and state economic and financial assistance, for giving the farm associations and cooperatives state support, for improved activity of the state agricultural enterprises and agro-industrial complexes.

The Front considers as necessary the development of services that will have to be extended and updated, both through state investments and private initiative.

To avoid the emergence of major differences in the accumulation of wealth by various social categories, the Front considers necessary the introduction of a complex of economic instruments corroborated by the contemporary experience—including a tax system—that should however not affect the free enterprise, competition and efficiency.

Likewise, the Front speaks up for guaranteeing proper minimum incomes for the whole manpower as well as for state social security for the country's population.

The Front considers necessary the fast drafting and application of a national program of environmental protection and ecologic balance preservation.

While promoting the idea of Romania's integration in the European and world economy, the Front sustains in the foreign trade the elimination of the state monopoly, the promotion of the criteria—of remunerativeness and efficiency. The foreign economic policy will pursue the additional engagement, through export, of the internal productive capacities and manpower on the one hand, and the rounding off, from import, of the necessary amounts of natural resources, energy, technology and consumer goods.

With the Romanian economy being set upon the principles of efficiency, of competitive economic structures, the lei will be made convertible.

The Front will work for the fast and genuine modernization of the Romanian economy, by working out strategic programs to promote the technical progress, finance autochthonous development-research activities, the import of technologies and support the development of key branches, including through the agency of societies with foreign capital.

The renewal and development of the Romanian school holds central place in the strategy of the Front. The program of this political movement advocates the liberation from ideologic dogmas and the banning of extraneous activities in schools, within an ample program of democratization and modernization and also advocates university autonomy. Likewise, it also envisages the creation of necessary conditions for professional training, equal opportunity in social life, full assertion of the youth in all fields of activity.

As for culture, the Front supports the circulation of national cultural values throughout the world, the broadening of contacts with the international cultural life.

Likewise, the Front considers that the legal framework should be created to ensure the liberty of the press, radio and television, mass-media in general.

The NSF also considers the freedom of religious faith and its exercise in conditions of mutual tolerance as a basic human right, an expression of the freedom of conscience and a defining factor of man's spiritual life.

The Front is for the establishment and maintenance of constant links with the Romanian emigration.

The Front supports the promotion of a foreign policy of broad opening to the world, of good neighbourhood, of peace and friendship with all peoples, firmly based on the principles of international law, on the observance of international accords and treaties.

The Front considers that Romania, as an European country, must actively contribute to the efforts for stability, peace and security, to the consolidation of the links of collaboration and cooperation on multiple planes, in order to overcome the division and create a new unity of Europe.

The Front believes that Romania's national interests can be promoted by means of a coherent, dynamic and flexible foreign policy which should take into account the deep-going mutations in the balance of forces worldwide, the affirmation of new zones and centres of power on the technologic, economic-financial and political planes of new possibilities of international collaboration and cooperation.

Roman Addresses Current Economic Issues

AU0502200990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1851 GMT 5 Feb 90

["Prime Minister Petre Roman's Views"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—Referring to aspects of Romania's current life, Prime Minister Petre Roman said: it is my opinion that right now and for a not too short period to come the state of our economy resembles that of a ropewalker, the distance between the rope and the floor getting smaller at times and greater at other times.

The explosion the December 22 revolution occurred when our economy had virtually run out of material resources, having no means to keep the productive apparatus going even at a minimal rate.

One may say, he pointed out, that there is no large, important enterprise in this country that boasts all the things it needs to turn out a production in line with its capacity.

In the past ten years, in the past five years in particular, the last resources in the economy were wasted as most of them were channelled towards useless, inefficient projects that were neither economically nor technically substantiated. The past five years' investment along that line amounted to roughly 100 billion lei. Naturally, there was also a number of useful investment projects but they were very few in comparison with the investment made as a result of megalomania. Therefore, we ran out of resources. And this is the acutest problem of our economy. The arbitrary, unsubstantiated use of resources seriously affected the connections between economic branches as they did their inner structures, where those connections were badly affected and even broken.

Consequently, the basic balance needed for a sound economy was seriously affected, too, and is now in obvious danger.

The second aspect I should like to tackle is as serious. We suspected, we knew that most of the workers in the most diverse productive economic branches worked in inappropriate conditions, the prime minister said, adding that reality was bleaker than suspected. Every year in the past 10-15 years working conditions went from bad to worse and they are very bad indeed today. They are impossible. And this for two reasons: first, the rights of

various segments of workers relative to their working conditions were severed. Secondly, technologies were employed beyond the rational engineering limits they had been planned for out of a primitive wish to produce more, which completely upset their efficiency and performance and, implicitly led to worse working conditions.

The prime minister also referred to issues approached during his recent interviews with various segments of citizens, workers and experts in key areas of the economy. All these meetings, he said, centered on the number one issue, namely working conditions. What we got at the end of these interviews was a shocking picture that once again shows that the dictatorship eliminated all humanist criteria from the administration of the state. Along this line, he said, though we cannot operate the productive apparatus at capacity, we agreed to maintain it in temperation, at various levels, as a prerequisite for ensuring jobs for the hundreds and millions of workers in the economy as a whole. The only thing we could do along that line was to eliminate past restrictions, recommendations, orientations and constraints from the economic mechanism.

I think there is no economy in modern history, in Europe at least, to have been more centralized than the Romanian economy under the dictatorship.

We have rather resolutely and clearly opened the autonomy of the ministries, and enterprises have redeemed to their rights the competence, intelligence, the revival of the best traditions of romania's technical intelligentsia, the encouragement of the intellectual force and creative capability of all categories of employees. Of course, these things are not done instantly, it is a longer process but, anyway, the first fruits have shown.

Based on this autonomy we have started to look for what we should call a complementarity. You see, according to the primitive conception that underlied the organization in the last 20 years, we have in economy first of all and mainly the basic industry siderurgy [as received], chemistry, and others, with old or very old, outmoded technologies.

We can say we virtually do not have a sector or several sectors with peak technology or, if we do have something, it is immaterial for a modern country. Like I said, the huge productive capacity for the basic industry, in order to be used, needs material resources, means. The principle of complementarity means to seek out first in the neighbour countries and then in any other country possibilities to bring the necessary means energy, raw materials, spare parts, so as to have the productive units work at capacity, supply finished or semi-finished products. We have already achieved very important things in this respect in metallurgy, in chemistry. Such solutions would not have been possible in the absence of the enterprises and ministries' autonomy.

Second, we have recommended two lines of action in enterprises in view of technically reinvigorating them: technologization, implementation of technologies that in point of management and technological flow can coexist with those currently in operation, and the action of reusing, starting from the fact that much of the extant equipment, many installations were supplied by foreign companies with great tradition and high technical standards. Those companies or other ones will be invited to contribute to bringing the respective installations up to an acceptable level of performance. Both preoccupations have started to show in a number of economic sectors and enterprises.

As for the working conditions of the employees, of the workers, technical and economic staff we have accepted from the onset in the meetings with their representatives generally, the idea that the rights that were arbitrarily annulled should be redeemed. This takes considerable effort from the state. But, considering the working conditions, it is an effort we just have to make.

Returning to key technologies, the prime minister said: the implementation of these technologies is requisite in the absence of which we can not raise the standard of living of the homeland's citizens. For these technologies we must and have already started to turn openly to the west, western Europe in particular, which has already made interesting offers. We must give proper laws for joint societies, for cooperation, for any other forms, taking into account, i repeat it, not a wide range of technologies, but the implementation of those technologies which can help us later join the economic circuit of Europe and the world.

Next, Petre Roman referred to current aspects of the political life in Romania: there are novelties in connection with the co-participation of political formations in running state affairs which should show, to a certain extent, in the activities and in the new form of the government. The current government, in my opinion, given the current economic situation, cannot be but a government of technicians, of people who know very well the problems in and the current state of various economic sectors.

Therefore, we have a government in which the political criterion had not a role i.e. in the election of ministers and deputy ministers. We have considered only the professional ability in the respective sectors and the managerial capacity in the administration of the respective field. As a matter of fact, many parties, the majority as we could see at first, agree with this.

But on the other hand, it is obvious that these parties, these political formations can have very useful suggestions for bringing in the sphere of the executive men of this kind, professionals, technicians who are more competent and better administrators. In this respect, I believe and I hope that the provisional national union council will advance positive proposals, to fill in the vacancies in the management of ministries, at various levels, very important levels, where they can be most useful for the government's activity.

In conclusion, the prime minister referred to current issues in the focus of the government: the draft decree-law on the free enterprise in small-scale industry and services, budgets funds for orphanages and schools for disabled, the construction of hospitals for occupational diseases in worker centres, the improvement of the population's food supply, the settlement of the pollution question in all economic branches.

Importance of First Postwar Elections Viewed

AU0702105290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0906 GMT 7 Feb 90

["A Ballot of Major Implications"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/2/1990—On May 20 of this year the Romanian people will vote the country's new parliament. This will be the first time in postwar years when free elections are organized in Romania. The stake of the elections is high as it is on the election returns that the future political outline of the highest legislative forum and of the other state management bodies depends. Which is also the explanation for the special interest public opinion, in this country, takes in the ballot, which is seen as a moment of major implications for the democratic evolution of the Romanian society.

The National Front's decision to field its candidates in the May elections virtually, though unofficially, opened the election campaign. This decision caused pro and anti-front reactions on the part of the population, which culminated with the great demonstrations staged on January 28 and 29 that heightened tension in the political life. A number of parties, such as the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party asked the Front to turn into a political party, yield political power and enter the elections on an equal footing with the other political groupings.

An important step forward was taken on February 1 towards the avoidance of further destabilizing social convulsions by as an accord was struck between the representatives of the National Salvation Front Council and of the political parties on the creation of a Provisional National Union Council. That that was a solution to the crisis was immediately apparent, with the leaders of the NSF Council and of the other political parties expressing their satisfaction at the accord.

The achievement of an accord on a draft voting law would be able to secure an adequate legal framework for the proper unfolding of both the election campaign and the elections, for the establishment of a climate of confidence throughout the country. One thing is certain, public opinion does not want tension. And May the Romanians will take a serious examination in political democracy.

Socialists Reject NSF Election Participation

AU0502102090 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Jan 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "After the Decision of the National Salvation Front To Participate in Election; Liberal Socialist Party Announcement"]

[Text] The Liberal Socialist Party firmly expresses its disapproval over the National Salvation Front's [NSF] decision to participate, as a constituent formation, in the coming elections.

The Liberal Socialist Party is profoundly disappointed that some of the NSF Council members, by not living up to their patriotic mission, aimed at ensuring the political and economic framework for calling upon the country to freely express its opinion in the poll, have influenced and directed this Council of "National Salvation" toward the well-known road of taking over power unilaterally.

Through the creation of territorial organizational structures in all counties, cities, communes, enterprises, and institutions, the NSF has revealed its desire to seize power and return to the well-known policy of fronts such as the FND [expansion unknown] and the FDUS [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] that stir sad memories.

The Liberal Socialist Party believes that this decision is a mistake of long-term, tragic, and historic consequences, and has an immediate explosive potential.

We believe that under these circumstances, the NSF leadership has assumed the mission it created independently and has departed from the pledge it made to the country—namely not to get involved in political activity.

The Liberal Socialist Party asks the NSF to immediately reconsider its decision to participate as a constituent formation in the elections and to return to the proposal made on 8 January 1990, when registering its program platform on television—namely, to enlarge the Front Council with authorized representatives of all parties.

The Liberal Socialist Party requests that the NSF remain strictly neutral as an executive state body, refraining from political interference, so as to ensure the functioning of the state at the economic and social level, as well as ensuring proper foreign relations, up until the formation of a legal government appointed by our country's parliament.

Cornea Calls NSF Communist 'Front'

PM0502104190 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 26 Jan 90 p 16

[Report on interview with Doina Cornea, leading dissident during the Ceausescu regime, by Santiago Aroca in Bucharest on 25 January]

[Text] Bucharest—Doina Cornea, a professor of French and the most prominent dissident under Nicolae Ceausescu's dictatorship, went to Bucharest yesterday, from her home in Cluj, in the north of the country, in order to announce that she was leaving the National Salvation Front [NSF], "a body," she specified, "from which I am separated by its communist ideas."

[Aroca] Why are you leaving the NSF?

[Cornea] Because I have nothing to do with its political ideas. The Front was set up in order to prevent anarchy and to run the country during the transition to free elections.

Instead, the NSF has changed into a kind of Communist Party, a body which seeks to preserve the structures of the socialist state. As I do not share that goal, I am leaving.

[Aroca] Do you believe that the elections called for 20 May will be fully democratic?

[Cornea] I would like it to be so. It is dangerous for a ruling party with strong totalitarian temptations to take part. That is, it is responsible for ensuring the democratic fairness of the process at the same time as taking part in it. Everything would be more democratic if the Front had not run, as was initially announced.

[Aroca] Are you the only independent figure leaving the Front, or is your decision in line with an agreement with other people?

[Cornea] My decision is wholly personal. However, as far as I know, there is no longer anybody left who did not belong to the Communist Party in the past. The Front has changed into a front organization of the Communists, however different they may be from those who were in power under Ceausescu. I respect their ideas—perhaps some of them sincerely believe in socialism with a human face—but I disagree with those ideas. I am in favor of a Western-style democracy, with complete freedom for political parties.

[Aroca] Under Ceausescu you were persecuted and harassed by the political police. Is that experience what prevents you from believing in democratic socialism?

[Cornea] Not that alone. In no Eastern bloc country has the Communist Party been able to combine its ideas with democracy. In East Europe, the socialism that we have known is a monster both in economic, social, and political terms. I, frankly, do not believe that the monster will cease to be an aberration by having a more human face.

[Aroca] The front has not announced that it is seeking to preserve the socialist character of Romania...

[Cornea] It will do so. I have no doubt about it. All the political measures which have been adopted run in that direction. Unfortunately, our revolution has fallen into the hands of the Communists—a different kind of Communists than those who were in power during the Ceausescu era, but Communists when all is said and done. Experience shows—in Hungary in 1956, in Poland in 1980, and in so many other places— that they are unable to allow societies to develop freely. I do not know why it is hoped that a miracle will happen in Romania.

Iliescu, Roman Meet With Radio-TV Employees

AU0502194790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Mr. Ion Iliescu and Mr. Petre Roman today held talks with trade union members for Romanian television and radio technical personnel, and also with editors and executives of the Free Romanian Radio Television.

Issues of principles for the Romanian Radio Television activity, the status of personnel in this national institution, as well as employee demands were discussed.

The legitimacy and the realistic nature of some demands formulated by the Free Trade Union of the Romanian Radio Television and the urgency of some measures to reorganize editorial and other sections, in accordance with the current tasks, was emphasized. In connection with these aspects, a great diversity of opinions, sometimes contradictory, have emerged.

Reasserting the position that emerges from the nature of the National Salvation Front Council [NSFC], as a body of state power, Mr. Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman rejected the ultimatum-type demand expressed by the trade union for television technical personnel regarding the removal of Mr. Aurel Dragos Munteanu from his position as president of the Free Romanian Radio Television—the more so since some other collectives in that institution voiced their confidence in and support for him.

The prerogative of appointing a president and the executive leadership for Free Romanian Radio Television belongs to the state, which represents the whole nation. At the same time, considering proposals for the organization of the managerial structure of the editorial staff and of its programs, the NSF believes that the editors, technicians, and all the other employees of the Free Romanian Radio Television will find adequate solutions to the current difficulties and will establish a truly free institution on a new and objective moral basis, in accordance with the democratic relations in our society.

Measures To Boost Private Enterprise Determined

AU0602171090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1314 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Free Initiative: The First Step Has Been Taken"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/2/1990—Under a decree-law issued on February 6 the NSF Council regulates the organization and unfolding of economic activities set on free initiative. This is a highly important decision whose impact is felt by the most diverse social segments and which is intended to unfetter the enterprising spirit and capitalize private initiative. It is a decision justified by both the need to meet the population's consumption requirements and boost the labour employment index and by immediate and long-term economic imperatives in Romania.

Essentially, the law offers possibilities for the creation of small enterprises, staffed with no more than 20 employees, of lucrative associations—of either the family or the non-family type. Physical persons can independently carry through such like activities, too. The decree-law shows that the individuals who can also be pensioners or employees of state or cooperative enterprises are to be employed on a work-contract basis, with the observance of labour code provisions. The financial means needed along this line may be either private resources or credits granted by banks on the basis of warantees. These new units may be financed also abroad on the basis of an authorization granted by the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The normative act also envisages the way in which private enterprisers are ensured the terrains, buildings, equipment, spare parts and raw materials they need. Prices and tariffs are set freely; the first regulation of its kind where the market laws are sovereign. Another important provision refers to the possibility of making exports directly or through the agency of Romanian foreign-trade enterprises and of foreign companies, on the basis of the authorization that has been granted. Fifty per cent of the hard-currency earnings from exports are to be given to the enterprise converted in lei, according to the exchange rate in force at the date the hard currency is cashed in, while the rest is at its disposal. The decree's final dispositions guarantee these enterprises' employees their length of service, the right to social insurance, as well as other rights stipulated by the labour code.

FRG Envoy on Bilateral Economic Ties, Loan

AU0202200390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1829 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/2/1990—Certainly, the Romanian-West German links can now develop freely and will grow soon, the ambassador of West Germany in Bucharest, Klaus Terflotch, stated. He showed that negotiations on bilateral economic exchanges were resumed and a session of the joint commission of collaboration would be soon convened.

Referring to the emigration of the population of German nationality, the ambassador said: "we would like changes in Romania, the revolution to create an atmosphere in which people, citizens of German nationality, may believe in their future here, in this land and stay here.

Ambassador Klaus Terflotch also mentioned that West Germany was considering to renew the offer made earlier to Romania, but rejected by Ceausescu's Government, to give credits worth over 500 million marks for the opening of small and medium-sized enterprises, mostly in Transylvania and Banat.

Ministry Asks WHO To Support AIDS Control

AU0602192290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1618 GMT 6 Feb 90

["WHO's Support for AIDS Control"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/2/1990—The Health Ministry of Romania appealed for support to the World Health Organization with a view to equipping a larger number of laboratories with the technology and tests needed to detect the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Furthermore, a team of WHO experts were invited for a visit to Bucharest these days to work out a programme for AIDS control.

According to data released by the Health Ministry, early in February there were 73 AIDS cases in Romania—which were diagnosed both in the laboratory and clinically—of which 50 children, most of them regular hospital patients or children suffering from malnutrition.

Several world organizations granted Romania aid worth three million Swiss francs with a view to creating 25 laboratories for AIDS tests. At present talks got under way with UNDP [United Nations Development Program] representatives for the creation of five specialized units. Furthermore, Romania concluded a contract with the "Suma" of Cuba which is to deliver more than one million laboratory tests intended to test the blood of the 800,000 blood donators in this country, as well as of people who either enter this country or travel abroad.

WHO Investigates Pediatric AIDS

AU0602151290 Paris AFP in English 1423 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Geneva, Feb 6 (AFP)—A World Health Organization team has gone to Bucharest to investigate an AIDS epidemic among Romanian children, a WHO spokesman said here Tuesday.

The medical experts arrived in the Romanian capital Monday and will stay a week to evaluate the situation and find out what the country needs to fight the killer disease.

The announcement came after a doctor who heads the French charity Medecins du Monde appealed Monday

after touring Romania for international emergency aid to cope with the outbreak of acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

About 20 per cent of Romanian children younger than three tested for AIDS have come out positive and the number is rising by 50 a day, according to the Romanian Institute of Virology.

The rate is several times higher than that recorded in other Eastern European countries. Doctors do not know what caused the epidemic, but they believe AIDS may have been transmitted through infected blood.

Infants frequently received blood transfusions to combat malnutrition in Nicolae Ceausescu's Romania, but blood is not normally tested for AIDS, which the toppled regime alleged was nonexistent in the country.

On December 31, after a new leadership took power following a popular uprising, Romania officially told WHO it had only 69 cases of AIDS in all age groups.

Head of 'Medicine du Monde' on Aid

AU0602190890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1624 GMT 6 Feb 90

["'Medicine du Monde' in Support of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/2/1990—On the hot days of the Romanian revolution a team of physicians with "Medicine du Monde", a non-governmental organization set up in 1969, arrived in Romania on a humanitarian mission and they went to Timisoara and Bucharest. The team is headed by Jean Gabriel Barbin, M.D. These physicians gave emergency aid to the wounded and notified medical institutions and the press in France of the need for further medical supplies for Romania. Recently, Mr.Jean Gabriel Barbin, M.D., stated: We decided to grant material medical aid—on a medium-term basis—to several hospitals in Romania so that their technical standard may rise up to European norms in this field. Since the organizations' possibilities are limited the support will go to hospitals in Bucharest, Arad, Brasov, Pitesti, and Galati. Furthermore, we should like to be intermediaries for the growing demands of the population and of health units by equipping hospitals and training the staff, according to direct bilateral contacts and relations with similar French units. Besides emergency international aid we intend to support our Romanian colleagues by ensuring for them adequate specialization courses so that the Romanian population may benefit from the gains of world medicine. We also intend, Jean Gabriel Barbin said, to convince the Common Market to invest in a European medical institute headquartered in Bucharest.

New Social, Political Magazine Appears

AU0502112590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0922 GMT 5 Feb 90

["New Periodicals—"ALTERNATIVE"]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/2/1990—A new periodical has come off the press in Bucharest "ALTERNATIVE" (ALTERNATIVES). An independent social and political magazine, it concentrates on Romania's alternatives to growth. The magazine will give priority to the pressing problems confronting Romanian society on all planes as a basis for alternative historical scenarios.

The first issue includes articles, essays and commentaries on the dictatorship and the revolution, Romania's place in the world economy. Permanent columns have been announced "Attitudes", the concepts of the revolution, "The State and Society" to which another one will add in the next issue "From the Realm of Ideas" which will strive to fill the information vacuum created in Romania by the dictatorship, readers are announced.

Newspaper DREPTATEA Resurfaces in Bucharest

AU0702104090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0855 GMT 7 Feb 90

["The Newspaper DREPTATEA Is Brought Out Again"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/2/1990—The first issue of the evening newspaper DREPTATEA, one of the two press organs of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party (the other one is called RENASTEREA) was brought out in Bucharest. As a matter of fact, DREPTATEA was put out once again in its fourth series the previous series were printed intermittently over October 1927-June 1938, August 1944-March 1945 and February 1946-July 1947.

An editorial note frontpaged by this first issue shows DREPTATEA to have been brought out once again in an attempt at continuing its fight for the establishment of true freedom and democracy and the regeneration of social manners, which were so badly polluted in the past 45 years. On its front page, too, the newspaper reproduces the portraits of the former leaders of the party Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalache, who died in prison in post war years. The current National Peasant Party leader, Corneliu Coposu, signs a programme- article headlined "Our Road", where he pleads for the Romanian people's right to benefit from the fruits of the sacrifice it made and calls on the Romanian nation to channel its efforts wisely towards the country's recovery, which is seen as the road leading to the completion of the victory that cost us so much. The "Today, Tomorrow" section opens with Adrian Marino's article which highlights the need for an urgent solution to the capital issue of the present, a change on all planes of the system that was wiped away from power, of the political system in the first place, by drawing an effective line between the

political and the state powers. The newspaper director, Paul Lazarescu, recalls the hot days of the fight against tyranny waged in postwar years by two generations of Romanians.

The newspaper also includes data and documents relative to the party programme and its registration at the Bucharest City Court, accounts on the activity the party carried on in the first month of its existence, statements made by its leaders in connection with the fielding of candidates in the May elections, and others.

* Goals of Hungarian Democratic Union

90EB0226A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 11 Jan 90 pp 1,3

["Part one" of interview with National Salvation Front member Domokos Geza by Al. Pintea—date and place not given; first paragraph is ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] Last year on 25 December, the writer, publicist, editor, and fighter for the rights of the national minorities in Romania, Domokos Geza, member of the National Salvation Front [NSF], signed a proclamation by the Provisional Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDU], in his capacity as its chairman.

[ADEVARUL] Mr. Domokos Geza, what is the HDU and what are its objectives?
[Geza] In short, our organization intends to represent and defend the rights of the Hungarian minority in our country. The Union's activities will be based on the objective reality of coexistence with the Romanian people and the other national minorities and on the traditions of the democratic movement in our country; it hopes to become an active political force in building a free and democratic Romania, a country of full equality for all its citizens, regardless of nationality, political and philosophical beliefs, race, or sex.

[ADEVARUL] From the very first moment, the Union announced its support for the NSF program.
[Geza] Precisely. Similarly, our Union welcomed the recent NSF statement on the rights of national minorities in Romania, viewing it as a genuinely historic document. I would like to quickly recall its provisions: recognition and guarantees of individual and collective rights and liberties of the national minorities under the new Constitution; formulating and enacting a national minorities bill to specify the provisions of the Constitution; providing the necessary institutional framework in which to exercise basic rights of minorities; using the Hungarian language, promoting national culture, safeguarding ethnic identities, and establishing a ministry of national minorities. These provisions coincide with our Union's aims and objectives.

[ADEVARUL] Let us not forget another idea contained in the statement: In its program, the NSF views any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, instigation to racial and political hatred, and oppression of nationalities as incompatible with the democratic character of the revolution.

[Geza] Naturally, the NSF statement contains other important provisions, too. I would like to mention the one which says that any manifestation of exclusivity and national or racial separatism is equally opposed to both the vital interests of the Romanian nation, and those of the national minorities. Along this line I want to clearly emphasize another of our statement's provisions, namely that the HDU of Romania will pursue observance of our rights while respecting the territorial integrity and sovereignty of free, democratic Romania.

[ADEVARUL] As stated in its own proclamation, the Union has declared its intention to cooperate with all democratic parties and organizations whose objectives coincide with those of its own program.

[Geza] We genuinely want a frank dialogue with all the parties, organizations, and social clubs with a view to achieving a better understanding, with a view to objectively assessing the current situation of interethnic relations and providing new bases for those relations. This process of analysis, stabilization, and adoption of programs of priorities will require from all of us mutual trust, objectivity, tolerance, and awareness of the fact that the work ahead of us will not be a simple correction or modification of relations between Romanians and national minorities—compromised by the Ceausescu dictatorship—but that we need a new vision and a fresh approach to these relations on the basis of specific realities. We must all remain calm and rational. The chauvinism, which the dictatorship elevated to the rank of policy, distorted the manner in which almost all social strata perceived and understood the situation of national minorities. It may happen that this sudden awakening to reality may create certain misunderstandings, confusion, and even tension, just as has been the case with revelations concerning economic, social, and cultural structures and the morale of the country.

[ADEVARUL] This is so because, in fact, the majority of the population was not aware of, and never knew, what was happening or what the true situation of the national minorities was.

[Geza] Because in his celebrated speeches, the dictator kept claiming that there was no minorities problem in Romania, that the minority issue had been resolved 'in exemplary manner,' that the 'united people' lived happily at a 'high standard of civilization and well-being.' Who dared break that image, lift the veil of lies, and reveal the true situation and the reality that all the people, without exception—Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbians, Ukraines, Jews, Slovaks, Turks, and Tatars—were subjected to starvation, cold, cultural and moral oppression, and all kinds of deprivations, from lack of information to denial of the right of opinion. But the population was not aware of the true situation of the national minorities, because it was never allowed to be mentioned in public and because the situation was concealed and censored with diabolical determination.

However, these specific aspects of the painful situation that prevailed will be presented in the next issue of our newspaper, in which we will continue our discussion with Mr. Domokos Geza.

* Danish Visitor Discusses Political Situation

90EB0221A Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 15 Jan 90 p 5

[Article by Ole Dall: "Gammelgaard: Shocking Days in Romania"—first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] "It is a highly tense situation in Bucharest," said the Conservative Group chairman Lars P. Gammelgaard who, together with five other West European politicians returned home yesterday from Romania. "We must provide enormous input from outside to have democracy introduced," he said.

Tanks everywhere in the streets, soldiers with loaded automatic weapons guarding the Front for National Salvation, lack of heat and food, candles and flowers on the streets in memory of the fallen.

That is the impression of everyday life in Bucharest which the Conservative Group chairman, Lars P. Gammelgaard, returned home with yesterday.

"It was a shocking experience. Stronger than one can imagine. And there is high tension in Bucharest," said Gammelgaard, when he returned to Copenhagen yesterday. For a few days, together with conservative politicians from five other West European countries, he visited Romania.

Friday night they witnessed the large demonstration against continued communist influence in the country.

"It was unbelievable to stand in the square on Friday night. We saw President Ion Iliescu speak. He was ordered to stop. Seven or eight people began to speak, and spoke from a tank. It was a completely chaotic demonstration. The multitude shouted 'Death to the communists' and 'Death to tyrants,'" said Gammelgaard.

About the possibilities for democracy and the new parties, he said, "It is a society in deep crisis, and help from West Europe is sorely needed. It will not be easy with a population which has lived for so many years in a dictatorship. It is an entirely different mentality than we are familiar with."

"We talked with representatives of what is for the moment the strongest party, the Christian Democratic Farmers' Party, the small Liberal Party, an intellectual group called Social Dialog and noncommunist members of the Front for National Salvation.

"Only the Farmers' party is successfully getting started and has a headquarters. The others are just barely formed.

"There is a powerful public feeling against the Front. And the members of the Farmers' party will not exclude the possibility of another revolution. The road ahead must lead to the Front getting new members. Many of them now in office are seriously compromised in the eyes of the population."

Lars P. Gammelgaard said that many of the noncommunist members of the Front are sharply critical that top members of the former government are still working in important jobs in the Front, in factories and other places.

"Friday's prohibition against the Communist Party is only a formality, and it is feared that the security force Securitate is being reestablished.

"A member of the Front, who is also a member of the Farmers' Party, Marian Mierla, wanted to speak during Friday's demonstration, but he was interfered with by an officer and was temporarily deprived of his card as a member of the Front. He was told to come to the headquarters of the Front on Saturday noon. The Farmers' Party decided to send a large number of members with him so they could be sure that he would come out again."

In general Gammelgaard believes that if the Front is induced to adopt a policy which is more rational in the eyes of the parties, and if within nine months there are UN-controlled free elections, a form of democracy in Romania cannot be excluded.

The problem is, he says, that the parties are so weak. "They are interested in help of every kind from a country such as Denmark. They know our democratic traditions. They are interested in political election experts and in help from political parties, help of all kinds. Paper, typewriters, and advice about how to conduct an election campaign."

"I will therefore, to my party amd to other parties, raise the question of how we can help the Romanian parties. We must provide massive input to have democracy introduced in Romania. We must help them from outside," said Gammelgaard.

* Call for UN-Supervised Elections Denounced

27000001D Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 18 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by Valentin Silvestru: "The UN, in Our Country?"]

[Text] I am expressing a feeling which was aroused by the request of somebody, appearing on television, and the complaint of somebody else, in a newspaper, that the elections in our country should be supervised by the United Nations. The UN should come to our country, to guarantee us freedom of choice. Should the UN come to our country? Why should the UN come? To supervise the young people who overthrew the dictatorship with

their bare hands? Should the leadership, the revolutionary government be placed under international control?

What condition are we in now? Are we occupied by a foreign power and are we fighting for independence like Namibia? Do we have rival militias? Are we in the midst of a civil war with two camps which do not have any chance of reconciling? Do we have guerrilla groups who demand a sociopolitical situation different from the existing one? Are there dissensions between Greeks and Turks, like in Cyprus?

What would UN troops do in Romania today? I have great respect for the peace initiatives and the successes of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and his colleagues and the specialized bodies. I imagine that he would be upset if he received a request to send UN troops, civilian observers, or employees to a country to which he expressed admiration for the courage and unanimity of the people in overthrowing a regime hated by the entire world. What would this mean to all those who admire and respect the will of the Romanian people to keep the freedom that was achieved? Wouldn't this be an insult to the nation? A statement of our inability to exercise our rights on our own? A certification of moral impoverishment?

Then why should the UN come to our country, to administer us? Are we a trusteeship? An island in the South Pacific? We are a state which is proud of its real independence and sovereignty, to which representatives of many countries come to present homage—a normal situation.

At whose request would the UN come to our country? For whom?

* Interview With Timisoara's Interim Leader

27000001F Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ion Medoia: "Timisoara: Soon, New Elections for the County Council of the National Salvation Front"]

[Text] As we reported in our newspaper on 14 January 1990, there was a peaceful demonstration in Timisoara on 12 January in which thousands of people participated. Justifiably, the people demonstrated against those who were trying to violate the sacred cause of democracy, attained with so many human victims in this martyr city. In these critical circumstances, unable to set up a dialogue with the masses, the former chairman of the National Salvation Front county council, Lorin Fortuna, resigned. With these complaints and protests in the background, Major General Gheorghe Popescu, commander of the Timisoara garrison, temporarily took over the leadership of the county. We have asked him for some further information.

[Popescu] Indeed, on 12 January I agreed to take the leadership, or, more precisely, to collaborate with the National Salvation Front county council. The demonstrators vehemently expressed their dissatisfaction regarding the violation of democratic principles, regarding the dishonest manner in which some people were elected to this organ, or, more exactly, elected themselves. Therefore, although it was said that the Army would take power in Timis County, this was not the case. We did not want, and do not want, such a thing. But a special situation was created which, we believe, will be positive for the revolution in the end. In addition, as you can see, we are having this discussion at the headquarters of the garrison and not at the headquarters of the National Salvation Front county council. I cannot consider myself to be chairman of this council when I have not been elected. I am only filling this position because of [Fortuna's] resignation, until the elections which will take place this month.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] General, as eyewitnesses to the events of that evening of peaceful demonstrations, we were able to see, once again, that the Army enjoys the complete confidence and approval of the people of Timisoara. In addition, in the days of the revolution, here in Timisoara—and not only here—emotional pages of brotherhood between the youth of the city and the soldiers were written, pages which we must bring to light for the real history of the country. I would like to ask you what lessons you have learned this week as a member of the National Salvation Front Council which are evidence of this experience?

[Popescu] I find the term "experience" rather pretentious but, whatever I might call it, it is certain that the youth of Timisoara, in the great majority, have moved rapidly from the barricades of the revolution directly to creative work. Even on the evening of 12 January, despite what we know happened in Bucharest, all the people here went home immediately. They were really satisfied with the fact that their democratic rights could not be violated by anyone. Our appeal was not only received with applause but also understood as it should be, with much responsibility and even maturity, one might say, on the part of the youth. I do not want to give the impression that productive activity is being carried out in accordance with real possibilities in economic units everywhere. But there are collectives of workers in the machine enterprise, in Electrobanat, in Electromotor, and in Electrotimis, to mention only a few of the most representative industrial units, who work with great pleasure, with great zeal. Before, they used to say all the time that the workers were the owners and the beneficiaries; but they were just empty words. It is certain that people will no longer put up with such talk, especially the old state of affairs and the abuses. As we have been able to note, it should be said that the principles of a true democracy are not yet dominant everywhere. Men will learn along the way because production cannot wait. The time wasted now will cost us all and it seems that the workers of Timisoara have understood this fact well.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Now the elections of National Salvation Front committees are in full swing in economic units, in institutions, electing delegates which will represent them in higher bodies. How do you support the proper, honest election of these representatives of the masses; what measures have you taken to normalize economic and social life?

[Popescu] The two problems are in perfect correlation; the normal development of socioeconomic life and truly democratic, free elections. But there are exceptions, and why not recognize them, such as those people who strive for power at any price. However, life casts them aside, gradually, and this has already begun to happen. Even if these National Salvation Front committees are temporary, we have sought the most realistic and judicious norm of representation of the citizens: in the cities, one per 200 residents and in rural areas, one per 400 residents. Thus, about 2,000 representatives will participate in the county conference. In addition, yesterday, a competent election commission was set up in the county, which will have the task of drawing up the legal framework for these new county elections. Let me explain that this commission has no connection with the old National Salvation Front organs, that its members will not have the capacity of delegates or of candidates for the organs which will be elected. The objectivity of these elections will be achieved by the fact that there will be a secret, individual vote on a single list of candidates, with many more names than the number of those who will be elected. By ensuring that the elections are truly democratic, we have every opportunity to ensure that only uncompromised and capable people will represent us in the National Salvation Front organs. With the elections, the Army will end its mission in the Front and will concern itself with its specific problems, ensuring peace for the people and defending the achievements of the revolution.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Initially, this election conference was set for 19 January but it has been postponed. Why?

[Popescu] Because the deadline was too tight and we could not work in haste, endangering or compromising this important action. So we have set a new date for the conference, 28 January, when the composition of the National Salvation Front Council and the administrative leadership of the county will be named, on the basis of free, truly democratic elections.

Commentary Views Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU0602180390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3-4 Feb 90 p 9

[Vlado Teslic commentary from the "Week in the World" column: "It Is Easy To Withdraw a Tank...."]

[Text] A Soviet "military diplomat" recently very openly stated, while talking about the current problem of withdrawing his country's Armed Forces from Eastern Europe: It is easy to withdraw a tank, it is difficult to withdraw a general. He meant in this respect the large number of commanding officers with the Soviet Armed Forces in Eastern Europe who are not great advocates of withdrawal and whose future in their own country is not exactly rosy since there is a large number of them.

The U.S. version of this surreal vision (or conduct) of military diplomacy could be: It is easy to withdraw tanks (especially if we force them on Italy, Belgium, or Portugal) but what do we then do with Germany? In other words, can NATO do without Germany and can Germany do without NATO? The answer to the first part of the question is a categorical "no" because NATO was formed so that the United States could have a firm foothold in the FRG. The answer to the second part of the question is "perhaps," because a future united Germany could soon be a member of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which is a thought that makes U.S. generals' hair stand on end.

Several days ago, one of the partners in the ruling Christian-Liberal Bonn coalition, Genscher, said, for example, that a united Germany could not belong to NATO and that anyone who wanted to extend NATO as far as the rivers Oder and Neisse (on the border between East Germany and Poland) was closing the door to the unification of Germany. What could Oscar Lafontaine, winner at Sunday's elections in Saarland and the probable future leader of the Social Democratic party and even a potential chancellor of the future two German states, say or do?

How Many Soldiers in Europe?

According to the habit started by Gorbachev, the Soviets have proposed more than the West had expected: The withdrawal of all armed forces belonging to the USSR from Eastern Europe by 1995 under the condition, of course, that this is done by the Western powers in relation to the FRG. This proposal was quickly followed by a "releasing of tension" on the other side, but in the well-known U.S. fashion, with delay and caution. Two days ago in the traditional "address to the nation," President Bush called for the ceilings on the armed forces of the two super powers in Europe to be evened out to 195,000 soldiers, thus reducing the level of 275,000 that he himself had recently proposed. Military experts will immediately notice that what is far more significant in the U.S. stand is that U.S. weapons will be modernized at the same time and that the program of space defense or "Star Wars" will continue, of course, with the pretext that the other side is in fact doing this too.

President Bush is doing this skillfully so that he in some way satisfies all partners and interested parties, as well as interest groups in the country. He will, therefore, reduce the number of U.S. soldiers and arms in order to satisfy that part of the U.S. and even German public that has been insisting on this for a long time, while at the same time not angering those partners in Europe (France) who insist on the full involvement of U.S. armed power until a new equilibrium of forces is set up in Europe, as well as those conservative forces at home who still do not believe Gorbachev.

What Happens After the Warsaw Pact?

It is clear that Washington is sticking to its two main strategic orientations: to remain in Germany with NATO and on the new geopolitical map of Europe and to stick to strategic nuclear armament, both defensive and offensive. Optimists will also comment that in both cases the Americans are sticking to a continuation of talks with the USSR while pessimists could conclude that this means the continuation of the arms race and an old confrontation.

What is quite certain in this arrangement: The changes in Eastern Europe are opening up new territory in the very sensitive area of security and Germany continues to be a great enigma and touchstone in the construction of a new common European home.

When the foreign ministers of France, the FRG, and Italy recently visited Vienna with the desire of "pushing" the disarmament talks along, they left the impression that they were either surprised by the possible new development of the German question or they did not know about the real preoccupations of the USSR in the new situation, whereby the Warsaw Pact has virtually lost its military edge. According to the old tradition of French diplomacy, Roland Dumas thought quite vaguely about the wide perspectives of the new possible options but at the same time was quite definite about sticking to what was certain—that French and other European troops would remain in the FRG even after the Soviet-U.S. withdrawal. De Michelis was sweet-talking and optimistic as usual, agreeing to all possible new possible solutions but not rejecting NATO. Genscher seemed to be most aware of the reality and complexity of the new European solutions.

What is really the primary aim of Soviet policy in the area of security in Europe apart from the quite vague sketching of a "common European home"? Especially now after the great changes in Eastern Europe and the rejection of the ideological veil and even concept of the Warsaw Pact as the keeper of the "socialist community"? It is one thing to say that the Warsaw Pact should become a political-military alliance of equal partners and national armed forces (which obviously are not and cannot be equal) and whose military doctrine would be defensive, and quite another, however, if this is placed

into the context of the existing relations and trends whereby Soviet troops are unilaterally withdrawing from some countries, whereby we are faced with the unification of Germany, and whereby Western partners are demonstrating their unwillingness to build the unification of Europe on disarmament as well.

There is no doubt that there has been a certain "balkanization" of Eastern Europe with the tacit agreement of Moscow but is this also a process of the "finlandization" of this region? Is Moscow, therefore, ready for processes of neutralization and for something more: the free choice of every country in Eastern Europe to decide on one bloc or the other, which was after all hinted at as far back as 15 years ago in Helsinki.

Negotiations in Budapest and Prague on the withdrawal of Soviet troops will probably be linked with negotiations in Vienna despite the very small probability that Hungary and Czechoslovakia will, for now, ask to leave the Warsaw Pact. By withdrawing from these countries, the Soviet Union does not lose anything on the military scene but it could lose a lot on the political scene.

It is another thing with Germany. After the meeting with Premier Modrow, it is obvious that Gorbachev has nothing against unification. No one, however, has noticed that the Soviet leader has renounced the role of the USSR and interests in Germany, an armed Germany, of course. Most Soviet troops are, after all, in East Germany (300,000) and their withdrawal is difficult to imagine out of the context of a simultaneous U.S. withdrawal from the FRG. Is this a subject for negotiation in Vienna or with the FRG perhaps? And is this a point that is already raising dust not about the neutralization of a future united Germany but about its possible dual membership of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact? Especially if this also suits the interests of Poland and even some Western partners.

Slovene LC Breaks With Other LC Organizations

AU0402150290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] At today's first conference in Cankar Hall, the Slovenia League of Communists [LC] announced its break from other republican LC organizations in the country. The meeting of more than 500 participants was marked by only one flag in front of the Republican Central Committee Building in Ljubljana: a blue flag with yellow star, green line, and a motto—Europe Now. Here is a report from Ljubljana by Relja Atanasijevic:

[Begin Atanasijevic recording] According to the agenda, the conference participants first heard the report on the work of the Slovene representatives and delegates at the 14th LC of Yugoslavia Extraordinary Congress, which was submitted by Sonja Lokar. After that they endorsed their course of action and discussed the conclusions.

The first six sentences of the conclusion contain the essence, something that has been expected. These are the six sentences: For the Slovenian LC, the 14th LC of Yugoslavia Extraordinary Congress is over. The LC of Yugoslavia as it was no longer exists. Its organs have also ceased to exist. Thus, the Slovene organization's new material obligations cease to exist, too. At the same time, Slovene Communists' individual membership in the LC of Yugoslavia also ceases to exist. The Slovenia LC acts as an independent political organization with its own membership, program, and statute.

The essence of this formulation is destructive. Lokar said that the reason for the disintegration of the Yugoslav Communists' organization was the clash between two concepts of socialism in the LC of Yugoslavia. She claimed that in the atmosphere characterized by the forceful imposition of the majority principle during voting at the 14th extraordinary congress, the Slovenia LC came to the conclusion that there was nothing for it in such an organization any longer.

She elaborated on this view in the style of the already familiar interpretations that have already been heard. She rejected the rumors that the rift was agreed on in advance so that the Slovene LC could earn points for victory at the republican election planned for next spring.

She simplified the explanation of the events in Kosovo by implying that the dogmatic wing is of the opinion that all Albanian, Slovene, and Croatian demagogues who hide their dirty aims behind the phrases of democracy, Europe, new socialism, and so forth, should be punished.

Under the second point of the Slovene LC conference agenda, Peter Bekes explained the Slovene Communists' election program, which was in the style of the motto: Europe Now. Let me also say that the LC election poster refers to the Yugoslav confederation. Peter Bekes proposed that Milan Kucan be elected Slovene Communists' candidate for president of Slovenia. Milan Kucan presented a list of candidates for members of the presidency as well as delegates for other most responsible posts in the Slovene and Yugoslav organs of authority.

Lev Kreft proposed to the conference to partly change the name of the Slovenia LC as of today and that the organization call itself the Slovenia LC-Party of Democratic Renewal. He said that this would only be a temporary solution. [end recording]

Croatia Legalizes Political Parties

LD0502125790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1151 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Zagreb, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—The republican secretary for administration and justice of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Ivan Fumic, today presented in a formal way the certificates of registration of the social organizations with political aims and activities, thus effectively legalizing political parties in this republic. The certificates were issued to the Croatian League of Communists, the Croatian Socialist Alliance of Working

People, the Croatian Social and Liberal Alliance, the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, the Croatian Christian Democratic Party, the Radical Association for the United States of Europe, the Croatian Democratic Party, and the Croatian Democratic Community.

The republican secretary for administration and justice made this decision on the basis of the law on social organizations and citizens' associations as an interim solution until the law on political organization is passed. The parties are thus legally enabled to conduct sociopolitical activities, in particular, preparations for the coming elections.

Other social organizations on the political stage in the Socialist Republic of Croatia were also invited to apply for registration.

Serbia Does Not Foresee Talks With Slovenia

AU0202131290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jan 90 p 5

[V. Vujic report: "The Party of All The Citizens Who Are in Favor of Socialism and Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpts] The essence of the forthcoming reform of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia is that the alliance should constitute itself, without prejudices and dogmas, as a democratic party [stranka] or party [partija] of all the citizens who are in favor of socialism and Yugoslavia.

This was stated by Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] of Serbia, at yesterday's news conference organized prior to today's electoral conference of the new Serbian SAWP. [passage omitted]

About New Elections in Serbia

Answering the question concerning the initiatives for new elections in Serbia, Radmila Andjelkovic recalled the initiative launched by the Serbian Presidency for passing a new law on the founding of parties in the assemblies of the republic and the SFRY. At present, we are working on the formulation of a draft of such a law that must be in accord with the republican and federal laws. Once these changes have been completed, and in view of the fact that we envision the abolition of sociopolitical chambers, there will be the need for new elections that will we held accordingly, Radmila Andjelkovic said. [passage omitted]

There Are No Conditions for Reasonable Discussion With Slovene Leadership

Answering the question concerning relations between Serbia and Slovenia, Radmila Andjelkovic said that at present there is not a single condition for a normal and reasonable discussion with the Slovene leadership.

Political reasons for the proclamation of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP are even stronger than before, especially after the Slovene leadership adopted its stand on Yugoslavia's policy in Kosovo, and the policies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the League of Communists of Serbia, and the assemblies of Serbia and the SFRY on Kosovo. In contrast to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, the stand of the Croatian SAWP on this matter is fairly neutral, Radmila Andjelkovic said.

Stressing that the events have justified Serbia's stands toward Slovenia, Dejan Milovanovic, secretary of the Presidium, said that there was some hope that the Brotherhood and Unity Train [traditional visits by the Slovenes to Serbia] would help toward the improvement of relations between the two republics. Unfortunately, this has not happened. Holding talks now with Joze Smole and a number of other members of the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP would be a waste of time and the repetition of what Serbia has precisely stated on so many occasions in the past. Talks and agreements will be possible if changes take place in the Slovene SAWP. As far as other republics are concerned, there is no need to talk about such relations or point in making similar analysis, Milovanovic said. [passage omitted]

Serbia, Slovenia Asked To Resolve Disputes

LD0202133390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2254 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Thursday asked the governments and parliaments of the republics of Serbia and Slovenia to definitely arrange a meeting of their represenatives and urgently settle the disputes over which their political and economic ties were broken early in December last year.

The break was decided on by Serbia, following the ban imposed on a planned rally in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, at which Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins wished to inform Slovenes about the persecution they suffer from Albanian terrorists and separatists in the province.

The Serbian leadership accused the Slovenian leadership of supporting the Albanian separatists wishing to secede from Serbia and Yugoslavia and join neighbouring Albania, and called on all firms in the republic to sever economic ties with partners in Slovenia.

The federal government assessed that the closing of republican borders and the break of economic and political ties contravene the new policy of economic opening and political democratization. It therefore called on both republics to adopt decisions which would provide for the free flow of people, goods, capital and services.

Meanwhile, a warning from the Slovenian Chamber of Economy said that the republic's economy was on (?the brink) of reproduction ability because 230 firms from Serbia had cancelled their contracts with 207 firms in Slovenia.

The chamber warned that a 40-per-cent drop in sales on the Serbian market would cause a 6.1-per cent fall in production in Slovenia, along with a 6-per cent fall in social product and an 18-per cent fall in accumulation.

The Slovenian Chamber of Economy upheld a demand which the republic's state organs have already addressed to the federal government to abolish the bonuses to enterprises in Serbia because of their one-sided and, as it put it, unconstitutional break of economic cooperation.

Slovenia has also warned that in order to protect its economic interests, it will have to stop making contributions to the federal fund for the underdeveloped parts of the country and rechannel the money to compensation for the losses caused by the blockade, as well as to turn to other markets.

The Slovenian Chamber of Economy said it was willing to accept any initiative from Serbia for a normalization of relations but without prior conditions.

Protecting territorial integrity, the Serbian leadership has decided not to lift the economic blockade until Slovenia has reconsidered its attitude to the Kosovo problem.

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Issues Communique

AU0602115490 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 29 Jan 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Appeal Against Interethnic Hostility and Conflicts"]

[Text] The Kosovo Democratic Alliance has issued a communique to the public in which it finally presents its attitudes to the recent events in Kosovo. The communique, which was also issued to the media, states:

"The recent dramatic events in Kosovo, official assessments of them, and the efforts to pacify the situation with violence show a clear tendency toward further exacerbating the political situation, stifling incipient democratic processes, and continuing the state of emergency and the policy of repression, with tragic consequences.

"The Kosovo Democratic Alliance indignantly condemns the repression and bloodshed and opposes any further exacerbation of the political situation with its negative consequences.

"The state of emergency has become a factor encouraging crisis and bloodshed. We call on the SFRY Presidency, which introduced the state of emergency and is responsible for its enforcement and possible consequences, to halt the repression at once and to embark on broad democratic dialogue seriously examining the current problems of Kosovo.

"The Kosovo Democratic Alliance repeats the principles of its program and calls on its 100,000 members and all the citizens of Kosovo, for the humanitarian reasons that democratic public opinion will respect in such circumstances, not to in any way allow their demands to be turned into the interethnic hostility and conflict that would only fulfill the wishes of those who use interethnic conflicts to climb to and maintain positions of authority.

"We indignantly reject the charges that the Kosovo Democratic Alliance is a single-nationality organization with single-nationality aims; these are an attempt to politically disable its democratic spirit and aims.

"This democratic spirit is unequivocally defined in the program to which we are committed, for friendship and cooperation among peoples, national equality, and the fruits of contemporary civilization."

[The following passage is separated from the text of the communique by asterisks]

Finally, instead of any commentary, we will merely add the following: Every commitment to overcoming the situation that has arisen in Kosovo is welcome, as long as it is sincere and well-intentioned. Blame must be laid where it belongs. Besides, was it necessary for the Democratic Alliance to wait so long, until events had gone so far and blood had been shed, before issuing this declaration of its standpoints to the public?

Without entering into discussion of whether certain assertions in the communique hold water, we publish it in the hope that it will exert an influence in overcoming the serious situation in Kosovo.

Serbian Presidency Discusses Kosovo Security

AU0602113490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jan 90 p 6

[TANJUG report: "In Accordance With the Functions of a Law-Governed State"]

[Text] Belgrade—At yesterday's session, which was chaired by Slobodan Milosevic, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia discussed the security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and a report that was presented by Radmilo Bogdanovic, republican secretary for internal affairs, on the security situation in the province and the activities of terrorist groups, which are striving to undermine security in the province.

The Presidency has stated, the announcement from the session says, that security organs are acting in accordance with the functions of a law-governed state and the duties that the state has to protect the constitutional order and the security of citizens and property. The security organs will oppose all violence and any behavior that is at variance with the law, and they are particularly obliged to take adequate measures to prevent terrorist attacks that endanger citizens' safety and their basic rights.

It was stressed in particular that the violent behavior that has been present in the last few days in some Kosovo

centers is added pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins and other citizens in the province, and it was stated that such pressure should not be tolerated and it is the duty of a law-governed state to take appropriate measures to completely prevent this behavior, which directly undermines national equality and people's basic rights.

The Presidency has approved the measures that have been taken, as well as the further measures that will be taken and that concern the full and comprehensive protection of the constitutional order and the security of citizens and property.

The Presidency calls on all Kosovo citizens to act in accordance with the regulations and measures that are in force in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and to contribute to establishing order, peace, the work process in work collectives, and the safety of all citizens, the statement from the session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia concludes.

Commentary on Kosovo, Milosevic, Prospects

AU0202112590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Jan 90 p 5

[Boris Jez commentary: "Belgrade Is Deciding for a Bloody Adventure"]

[Text] Serbia wins wars but loses in peace. It seems that the present Serbian leadership took this thought from the infamous memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences literally: It is solving the problem of Kosovo exclusively with military means and it is obviously prepared to go to the end. But is it really possible to win with armored cars, submachine guns, and truncheons?

Just as the Yugoslav federation is in fact a copy of the Soviet federation, the political situation in one country is a spitting image of the other at the moment. Moscow has its Baltic states that no longer conceal that they are definitely departing from the "brotherly community," and Belgrade has the Slovenes who also no longer find any proper motivation for life in the common state. Both countries also have their "southern problem," the USSR in Azerbaijan and Yugoslavia in Kosovo. But the difference here is significant: While Moscow appears in Azerbaijan in the role of a pacifier and arbiter, Belgrade has embroiled itself in a bloody adventure in Kosovo. The final result may be the same in both cases: disintegration of a "socialist federation."

When Veljko Rus began to warn two years ago that Slobodan Milosevic was leading Yugoslavia into civil war and disintegration of the state, many people considered this a gross exaggeration. Now the war is here; the economic blockade of Slovenia is nothing but an act of aggression, and loss of life in Kosovo is probably also not a consequence of friendly persuasion. The matter is indeed approaching insanity: The Serbian leadership and its puppets in Pristina are not prepared to discuss even such self-evident demands by the demonstrators as free elections, lifting of the state of emergency, or political pluralism. In such a situation without a prospect, the young generation has no other choice but terrorism, and so Milosevic will finally get what he needs: terrorism. When bombs start go off in Kosovo, he will be able to tell Europe that he has the same problems as Felipe Gonzales or Margaret Thatcher.

Of course, others will not be willing to participate in this game forever, having to pay Milosevic's bills without a murmur. After Slovenia, Croatia will probably also withdraw its police units from Kosovo, and it may be followed by others. Thus it may happen that Serbia will one day stand alone face to face with the Albanian problem, which will be anything but a pleasant confrontation, considering the fact that there exists a large Hungarian minority that will sooner or later come to after the shock of the yogurt revolution [in Novi Sad in October 1988, when Vojvodina leaders were pelted with yogurt cartons before they resigned]. The Serbian leaders will of course try to prevent such a possibility at any cost in advance, because objectively speaking, Serbia alone is not capable of subduing the Albanian minority of 2 million people, especially if the minority will receive new impulses after a possible fall of the Stalinist regime in Albania. It should thus be expected that the Serbian leaders will continue with their attempts to grab the federal state (it is particularly important to control the key posts in the Yugoslav People's Army), and this means that the present period of instability will continue and perhaps even get worse.

Milosevic brought Yugoslavia into a vicious circle. The "Kosovo problem" can be solved only through allowing the Albanians all the rights that other peoples in Yugoslavia enjoy, but not even Milosevic's opposition is prepared to do this at present. In any political setup, it would be logical that other players in this Balkan poker game should try to get rid of the one whose play lacks sense and causes harm to all, but the Slovene, Croatian, and other politicians came to their senses only after the Serbian leader had made his moves. Thus the centrifugal forces are gaining in strength while the northwest of the country is objectively impotent, and some sort of disintegration of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia is becoming a fact. It is a paradox, but the Serbian policy has contributed most to the disintegration of the SFRY, and at the same time it is obviously prepared to hold the others in an iron grip, even at the price of a civil war. Blood is flowing, even though at present it is "predominantly" Albanian, as some people tend to think.

It is becoming clearer and clearer that the problem of Kosovo (and thus of the survival of Yugoslavia in any form) cannot be solved within the present Yugoslav political, ideological, cadre, and other schemes. In other words, a "socialist federation," such as Yugoslavia is at present, completely lacks any suitable prescriptions for conflict situations, such as in Kosovo. The Kosovo burden of several centuries is perhaps resolvable only in the context of a civilian society, Europe 1992, political

democracy, and a consistent respect for human rights, and all these are concepts that most of the "youth-brigade generation" of Yugoslav politicians cannot understand at all. Great shifts will have to occur in the political tectonics of the country to unite all the present establishment; the adjournment of the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress represented in this respect only rather weak tremors and a possible prediction of the real earthquake.

If Azerbaijan means the beginning of the end of the Soviet empire, the end of a Balkan, operetta-style empire has perhaps begun in Kosovo. We should also ask ourselves what we need: a great party with flags, parades, and military bands or "merely" a simple common house in which it will be possible to live in freedom and dignity?

Slovene Presidency on Responsibility in Kosovo

LD0202122290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2004 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—At its session today devoted to events in Kosovo, the Slovene Presidency stressed the responsibility of the federal organs in the present situation. The organs of the federal units should take full responsibility for overcoming the violence in this region that is posing a threat to the constitutional order of Yugoslavia. The Slovene Presidency also considers that respect for human rights and freedoms, free political organization, and freedom of expression and ideas should be guaranteed throughout the state. In relations between the members of the federation, or between their organs, equal dialogue on the problems of coexistence in Yugoslavia must be affirmed. Such a dialogue, the Slovene Presidency considers, can only be started in an atmosphere of tolerance, without attacks and insults and setting preconditions.

"The Slovene Presidency is very concerned at the eruption of violence in Kosovo. Likewise, it is following with concern the threats and calls to civil war that were heard yesterday at meetings in Belgrade, Titograd, and elsewhere in Serbia and Montenegro. The violation of basic human rights, use of force to oppose the demonstrations by people of Albanian nationality, and calls to arms on both sides pose a danger of wider interethnic conflicts. Such a development of events could halt the processes of economic reform and political democratization, further worsen Yugoslavia's position in the world, and lead to 'Kosovisation' of the entire state," says the statement from the session.

"We are witnesses of crude insults and quite unreasonable accusations against the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and its political leadership that say that we are to blame, or partly to blame, for the eruption of violence in Kosovo. The claims that the Slovene delegation's walkout from the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress caused the demonstrations in Kosovo, that the Slovene leadership with its stances and obstruction of the program on Kosovo is preventing the regulation of the situation in the province, that it is using Kosovo for its own narrow ends and interests—all of these are so absurd that no one can believe them to be true unless they are blind. Such claims have been made in commentaries by journalists, and they have also been voiced, which is even more worrying, by state officials of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and yesterday even by the president of the Montenegrin Presidency. On behalf of the state organs and the Slovene political leadership, the Slovene Presidency firmly rejects such accusations and warns that this is behavior that contradicts the call of the SFRY Presidency for an end to unfounded mutual recriminations. The Slovene Presidency is convinced that such statements and insults are not only politically damaging but that they also represent a criminal act, to which we drew attention a few days ago in a letter to the state presidency."

"The Slovene Assembly and other organs of the republic have several times in the past year taken the stand that the problem of Kosovo should be resolved by comprehensive and rational policies that must be drawn up with the agreement of all republics and provinces. We warned that the rights and interests of all nations and nationalities living in the province must be respected, and that it will not be possible to resolve ithe problems by means of state coercion and 'political differentiation' alone."

"The present policy is leading to catastrophe," the Slovene Presidency statement goes on to say. "Slovenia and the other republics, and the Province of Vojvodina, can only be responsible for resolving the problekm of Kosovo on the condition that they all participate equally in the drafting of joint policies. It is necessary, first of all, to ensure the respect of human rights of all the citizens of Kosovo. The regulation of the situation can best be assisted by the start of a dialogue between the representatives of Serbia and representatives of the Albanian people in which the people express their confidence in a democratic manner. The organs of the federation should assist in setting up such talks.

The drama of Kosovo damages the whole of Yugoslavia while it inflicts the greatest suffering on the people of Kosovo. We also cannot ignore the fact that demonstrations on such a large scale that have embraced all strata of the population cannot be called separatism and terrorism. Numerous casualties among the Albanian population during the past days bear witness to this. We in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia do not underestimate Albanian nationalism and separatism that exploit the predicament of all the inhabitants of Kosovo, and we are aware of the problem of physical threats facing the inhabitants of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in the province. Nonetheless, their security cannot be ensured by applying state terrorism to members of the Albanian nationality because violence breeds violence.

Slovenia is advocating talks on equal terms about the conditions for coexistence in Yugoslavia as it will do everything not to strain relations in the country to an even higher degree. We are ready to have talks with all the republics and provinces but this republic's legitimate organs will not let Slovenia be embroiled in disputes that are not our disputes nor have responsibility, which is not Slovenia's, imposed on it. Slovenia and its citizens will not and cannot renounce their vital interests and independence. Neither can we renounce our conscience and keep silent about acts that are not in accordance with humanity and internationally recognized norms, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia stresses.

Army Officer Opposes Economic 'Blockades'

AU0202220990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 90 p 4

[Statement by Lieutenant General Ilija Ceranic at the session of the Republican Conference of the Reserve Officers' Federation of Croatia "yesterday": "We Will Not Permit Breakup of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Our Armed Forces will never permit the breakup of Yugoslavia, threat to its territorial integrity, or a civil war. If we permitted that, we would betray all our peoples and nationalities. The Yugoslav People's Army supports the program of the Federal Executive Council and wants to make its contribution to help that program be implemented consistently.

The "screenplays" prepared by the republican organizations of the League of Communists were well played at the 14th Congress, but that was done to the detriment of the unity in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Instead of quarreling about who is to blame for the Kosovo situation, everybody should commit himself on solving the Kosovo problem. We do not agree with economic, cultural, or information blockades and oppose any encapsulation, something that causes disunity in our country.

Serbian Muslim Leader Appeals for Calm

LD0202170390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2312 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is a multinational and multisect community. In Kosovo, different nationalities have lived for centuries side by side and have helped each other with their daily business. Thus, a break in historical trends would cause a tragedy for all citizens. Jetis Bajrami, president of the Council of Elders of the Islamic Community of Serbia, stated this on Pristina and Belgrade television this evening.

He said: Dear believers, members of the Islamic community, you bear a great responsibility. Therefore, you are bound to make your contribution toward calming down the situation. Do not permit your children to kill or be killed. Prevent the bloodshed. Show that you love your neighbours and fellow citizens in all earnest. The Koran says that people are children of one forefather and one foremother, and that they are divided into nations, not in order to kill each other but to know and help each other. We call on our religious servants, activists of the Islamic community to join the effort to calm down the situation by unconditionally making their contribution toward improving overall inter-nationality cooperation and toward living together. There is no alternative to living together.

We ask all our fellow citizens to accept our appeal and act in accordance with it, Jetis Bajrami said.

Milosevic Receives Kosovo Serb Emigres

AU0302194790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Some 50 businessmen and intellectuals, Serbs and Montenegrins who emigrated from Kosovo and now live in Belgrade, held talks with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia. In the name of over 100,000 exiled Serbs and Montenegrins who live in the capital, they informed him that they have decided to return to Kosovo so that they can contribute to the struggle for settling the situation in the province with their work and professional experience.

This decision is the best response to the situation that we have in Kosovo and it accords with our policy of stopping emigration [words indistinct] from Kosovo, Slobodan Milosevic stressed. A reform of the state administration, the economy, education, and other social activities, Milosevic added, will open up the opportunities for a mass return by those who want to live and work in the province. The Socialist Republic of Serbia will provide all the necessary conditions for this.

2,000 Women, Children Flee Kosovo

LD0402150190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—About 2,000 women and children have departed from Kosovo via Kosovo Polje since the beginning of this year's demonstrations of Albanian nationalists. The rescue headquarters for the most endangered families in Kosovo and Metohija, which organizes reception and hope for those leaving, announces that over the last three days, 997 women and children have left this part of the province. At the same time, 67 persons from 17 families have been provided with protection in Kosovo Polje itself. A third of those who were intent on leaving the province have nevertheless decided not to depart.

Serbian Leaders Criticize Albanian 'Rampage'

LD0302222490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2140 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, February 3 (TANJUG)—The rampage of Albanian separatists and terrorists in Kosovo will be

stopped very soon, Serbian Premier Stanko Radmilovic promised on Saturday. He called on ethnic Albanians not to succemb to the propaganda of Albanian nationalists and terrorists.

Radmilovic, currently in Kosovo, made it clear that the strategy to be followed consistently and energetically implies complete equality of the Albanian nationality, but also complete security of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins and equality of all nations and nationalities living in the province.

At no price will the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins be left at the mercy of Albanian separatists and terrorists. Yugoslavia and Serbia, whose province Kosovo is, must exercise, with the province's participation, the functions of a legal state—said Radmilovic.

He recalled that new conditions for democratization were being created throughout the country, including Kosovo, but that multiparty pluralism cannot be geared to divisions among the nations and nationalities.

Key posts in the province must go to the persons who regard as sacred the equality of all nations and nationalities, the security of all citizens, the inviolable integrity of the country as a whole and Serbia within it, and maintenance of the constitutional order, said Radmilkovic. He added that those persons must not necessarily be communists.

Leader of the Serbian party organization Dr Bogdan Trifunovic, addressing political activists of the Kraljevo region in Central Serbia, said one should not be misled with a partial easing of or improvement in the Kosovo situation. That is why deeper integral changes are necessary which will bring in security and enable economic, cultural, democratic and political reforms in this part of the country, he noted.

The state must fight with adequate means against separatist attempts to separate Kosovo from Serbia, against violence and attacks on it. At no price and under no pressure will it give up Kosovo—emphasized Dr Trifunovic.

The League of Communists Committee of Prinstina today repeated its warning that the situation in Kosovo is dramatic and on the brink of a civil war. It said that separatists forces, instigated, among others, from some quarters at home, were doing everything to disrupt Yugoslavia.

Serbian Executive Council Agrees to FEC Appeal

LD0402133290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—We accept the invitation of the Federal Executive Council and its president to the Executive Council of Slovenia and Serbia to meet and conduct talks about the resolving of the issues suggested by this invitation, which inevitably also includes the problems of the implementation of the Yugoslav policy in Kosovo. To this effect, the Executive Council of Serbia is ready for constructive dialogue, states today's statements by the Serbian republic government.

Kosovo Remains Generally 'Quiet' Overnight

LD0402132590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1218 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 4 (TANJUG)—It is a quiet Sunday in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, where demonstrations by Albanian chauvinists and separatists have been under way since January 23. There were no incidents or attempts made to stage demonstrations this morning.

Last night was generally quiet also, according to reports so far, with the exception of Albanian extremists putting up barricades on roads at several places—in the vicinity of the town of Urosevac, on the Pristina-Skoplje and the Urosevac-Stimlje roads.

Factories and plants, where due to the technology the process of production must not be interrupted, operate normally today.

It seems that appeals made by the state organs and also the entire country, for halting the demonstrations and opposition to the security forces, proved fruitful. The Yugoslav Government, which together with the republic of Serbia showed its decisiveness in quelling the demonstrations, yesterday assessed that the situation in Kosovo was quieting down.

25 demonstrators were killed and 75 wounded in the clashes so far, it was officially reported on Saturday.

45 members of the security forces were also wounded, two of whom seriously.

Kosovo Activists Draw Up Declaration

LD0402162390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Opening at 1100 [1000 GMT] sharp was the first news conference I attended at the Writers' Association of Kosovo, led by the leaders of the movement, who are also the creators and signatories of the "For Democracy—Against Violence" declaration. According to what we were told, this specific political and democratic document has so far been signed by over 300,000 people in Kosovo. The main bit of news at the conference: A declaration is to be issued that points out that in the unrest in Kosovo, 27 people have been killed, all of them Albanians. Also stressed is that this is just a link in the chain of the tragic Kosovo realities. It is added that this is political violence that has led to bloodshed by the force of state repression, and that this is not just a matter of sympathizing with families, since this should be part of general social grief.

This is why tomorrow and the day after, 5 and 6 February, are declared days of mourning. On these days,

all the employed will stop working for five minutes, factory sirens and car horns will be hooted for two minutes, while passers-by will observe a minute of silence in honor of those killed. All citizens are also called on to extinguish the lights in their flats and houses at 1900 [1800 GMT] for five minutes and then to light candles in the windows. It is especially requested that this should by no means be a pretext for demonstrations or protest gatherings. Pristina Radio and Television should act accordingly too. RILINDIJA should finally print the announcements with information on those killed during the demonstrations. The alternative activists are accusing the state organs of bloodshed, as they maintain that they should bear responsibility due to this fact. They are demanding that the Executive Council, as the most responsible organ, resign and that a new provincial government, based on consensus, the principles of the law-governed state, and respect for political pluralism, be elected.

[passage omitted: An hour later a news conference was scheduled in the Executive Council where the provincial secretary for internal affairs, Jusuf Karakusi, was to brief journalists. None of the officials from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs tuned up. The two officials that eventually turned up were totally incompetent]

Work of Albanian Separatists Viewed

AU0402213690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Telephone conversation between Pristina correspondent Milivoje Mihajlovic and unidentified studio announcer of the "Sunday at 10" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Studio announcer] Good morning.

[Mihajlovic] Good morning.

[Studio announcer] What were last night and this morning like in Kosovo?

[Mihajlovic] It has been quiet. It was the quietest night in the last 10 or so days, and I expect the rest of the day, at least the morning, to remain like this. [passage omitted]

[Studio announcer] There are some differences between what had been happening during previous demonstrations and what happened in the last 10 days, despite the fact that casualties and fierce fighting were recorded on both occasions. There are also some differences in how Albanian terrorists and separatists are armed and in the way that the demonstrations are organized.

[Mihajlovic] Yes, I would first like to talk about the similarities because, as in the past, in the last few days Albanian separatists tried to attract as many like-minded people as possible. By distributing slogans and leaflets throughout the province almost every day, they had been inviting people to an armed uprising for months. These slogans and leaflets talk about the persecution of Albanians in Yugoslavia, the genocide of Albanians, and the destruction of their culture and history. They are not missing a single chance.

The motive for the latest demonstrations and unrest was the accidental death of Nuredin Nuredini, from around Skopje, who lost his life while communal organs were knocking down the illegally built wall around his house. This was both the motive and excuse for rallies and demonstrations. Let us recall that earlier, in March, the motive was the trial of Azem Vlasi. In November the motive was the constitutional changes.

Every and even the most innocent intervention by the militia is used for propaganda purposes again and again. At night, Albanian separatists go to all of the villages and spread rumors about the alleged brutality of the Serbian militia, the numerous victims and children that have been killed, and the horror and terror that Serbia is allegedly imposing on Albanians. They are making up stories that the militia is opening fire on unarmed passers-by who are not even taking part in the demonstrations, that tanks are running over children and women and destroying houses. This is all helped by strong propaganda from Albania and emigre circles from the West.

It is understandable that under the present conditions in Kosovo this has enormous effects. Hatred is incited and new militants of Albanian separatism are recruited. A more detailed analysis would show that the situation in Kosovo in recent years, and especially in the last 10 days, represent a classic case of a special war against Yugoslavia.

The truth is, of course, much different. Groups of well-trained and armed terrorists were inserted among the demonstrators. Their aim is to cause bloodshed. These events are similar to those in the March demonstrations. They also shoot at the members of the militia and, judging by the previous practice, they do not hesitate to shoot at demonstrators from the back, so that they can later spread rumors that the militia is shooting at the demonstrators while they are fleeing.

Many bullets of various caliber have been found in the militiamen's flak jackets. That the separatists are very well organized this time is illustrated by many facts. For instance, at the Pristina hospital the doctors and other staff of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality are not allowed to treat the injured demonstrators. The doctors and other medical staff of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality claim that their Albanian colleagues do not even allow them access to the part of the hospital in which the injured demonstrators are. In this way they blaze the trail. All the blame is put the members of militia, as has recently been done by the members of alternative groups in Kosovo. For example, many people claimed that in Malisevo a militiaman opened a barrage of fire on innocent passers-by. However, the militia

stated that fire was only opened on those who had wounded a militiaman in the head.

Albanian separatists appear to have perfected their propaganda work. They have not repeated even a single mistake made during the demonstrations in November, March, and February of last year. Copying machines have been stolen from some firms. It is assumed that they were used for copying separatists' leaflets and pamphlets. Separatists are very well organized, equipped, and armed. During the demonstrations in (?Dragoslav) and the surrounding villages 3 days ago, the demonstrators were seen carrying small communications radios.

Everything also worked perfectly in Podujevo, Suva Reka, Prizren, and Vucitrn. The demonstrators have all kinds of arms. In Istok, it was reported that the demonstrators even had light mortars. The truth is that Albanians love arms. Arms are even a part of their traditional costumes. Experts claim that many of the arms are left from World War II, but it is also known that in the recent years people in Kosovo, especially Albanians, have been intensively arming themselves. It is believed that there are considerably more of those in the province who have unlicensed arms than licensed arms. [passage omitted]

That the Albanian extremist emigres are also present in Kosovo is illustrated by the numerous cars with registrations plates bearing names of French, Swiss, Belgian, and other West European cities. We reporters from Kosovo knew that the demonstrations were going to start wherever there were many cars with foreign registration plates. What usually happens is that a group of these people start shouting slogans when there are big crowds at the promenade and market places in the afternoon or evening. They are then joined by others who call on all passers-by and observers to join them and threaten those who refuse to do so. This method of organizing is working increasingly better. As soon as the militia arrives, the organizers retreat to back streets and shoot. [passage indistinct] [passage omitted]

[Studio announcer] It cannot be easy for the members of the militia. However, Serbs and Montenegrins were glad to see the 2,000 additional militiamen from the republican Secretariat of Internal Affairs who came to their villages. Let us now talk about something else, about something that is often mentioned in the north, in Croatia and Slovenia, namely, demands for democracy. You remarked about this when we spoke yesterday. Could you also say something about the headquarters, about those who lead everything that has been happening in Kosovo?

[Mihajlovic] The greatest irony is that terrorism is hiding behind the alleged democracy, because I am not sure that the majority of those who are demonstrating want real democracy. For instance, a group of demonstrators would be shouting "Democracy, democracy, more parties," and few minutes later the very same group would be shouting "Tito, Party, and Long live the League of Communists." These two things can hardly go together. The biggest victims of this democracy were the shop and car windows in Pristina and other places in Kosovo. Of course, under the conditions of this new—as many people call it—terror democracy, the most difficult thing to be was to be a Serb. It was even more difficult to be a militiaman or a reporter for the Belgrade media. It is quite certain that some leaders and leaders in Slovenia and Croatia encourage and incite the terror of Albanian separatists. Where this is leading is best illustrated by a sarcastic remark that has recently been heard, namely that some leaders from Croatia and Slovenia will fight for Kosovo until the last Albanian.

As far as the headquarters is concerned, it is obvious that behind the latest unrest there is a well-organized headquarters of the separatist movement that has started an offensive on all fronts, ranging from alternative movements, which strive for a more peaceful solution of problems, to armed guerrilla attacks.

This time it has been demonstrated that the entire separatist business in Kosovo has good financial support. Where does the money come from? It is assumed that it comes from abroad, because our workers of Albanian nationality who work abroad, as they themselves say, regularly pay part of their personal income to these separatists groups for these separatists aims. The other source could be the drug market, because it is known and has been reported in our press that the Albanian Mafia controls 40 percent of the U.S. drug market. [passage omitted]

'Terrorists' Said To Infiltrate Kosovo for Riots

LD0402214790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—There is no doubt that among the terrorists and extremists who took part in the recent unrest in Kosovo, there were also Albanians from abroad, POLITIKA EKSPRES states in its edition tomorrow. Correspondents for the paper from Kosovo quote a statement by Radenko Krulj, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

According to Krulj, between 200 and 400 terrorists were infiltrated into Kosovo to take part in recent hostile actions. Over 100 vehicles with foreign registration plates, mainly from Sweden and Belgium, were noticed in the province, in particular in the region of Metohija.

According to Radenko Krulj, POLITIKA EKSPRES says, although there are still no details available about the identity of those killed, it can be said for certain that some of them lived in other European countries.

Slovene Police Unit Pulled Out of Kosovo

LD0402210390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—The police unit from the Slovenia Socialist Republic, which has been engaged in security tasks in Kosovo over the last month as part of the combined unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, today left the province. This Slovene police unit left Kosovo at the end of the shift, which will otherwise be carried out tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. By all accounts, a new unit, in accordance with the decision of the Slovenia Socialist Republic Assembly Executive Council, will not be sent to Kosovo.

The police in the combined composition of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, stationed in the settlement of Ajvalija not far from Pristina, were seen off by their colleagues in a comradely and appropriate way. The Slovene police likewise took leave of their comrades from other parts of the country with unconcealed nostalgia. Here regret was expressed at the fact that—in carrying out the orders of their superiors—the Slovene police will no longer be part of the combined unit on duty in the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province.